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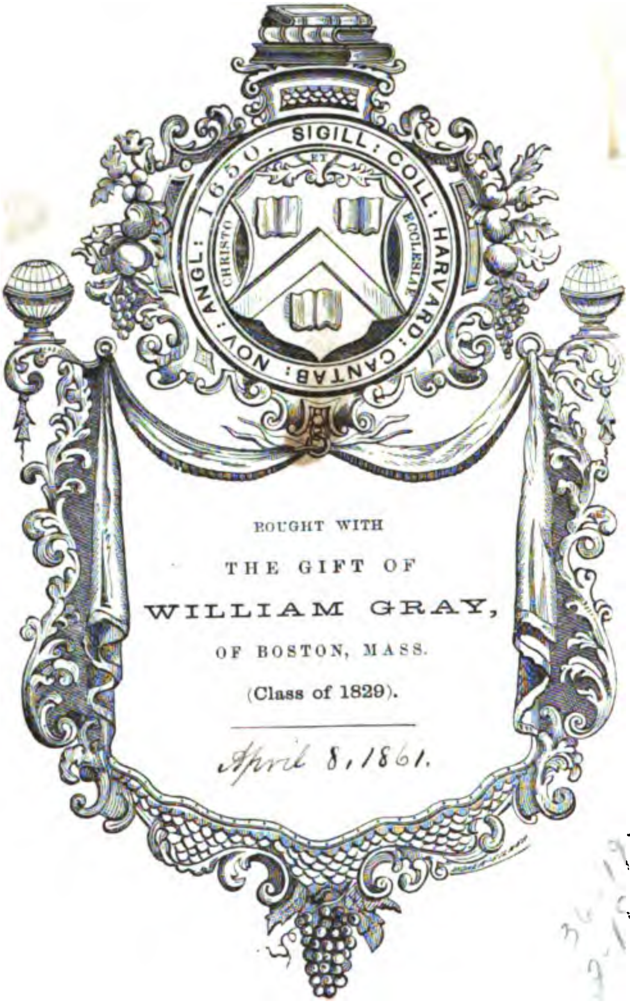

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JOURNAL

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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Summary of the Geology of Southern India.* By CAPTAIN NEWBOLD, F.R.S., &c. *Assistant Commissioner for Kurnool.*

[*Continued from* vol. viii., p. 270.]

PART IX.—PLUTONIC ROCKS.

GRANITE.

Geographical Extent.—Granite prevails throughout the great hypogene tracts, the limits of which have been already defined, sometimes rising abruptly from the surface of immense level plains, in precipitous, peaked, and dome-shaped masses; sometimes in low slopes; sometimes in great heaps of amorphous masses; at others with sharp outlines, obscured and softened down by a mantle of the hypogene schists which have accompanied its elevation. This latter occurs most frequently in continuous mountain chains, such as the Ghauts; but to view this rock in all the boldness of its true physical contour, we must approach the detached ranges, clusters, and insulated masses that break the monotony of the table-lands of India. Here we find but little regularity in the direction of elevation. In many clusters, of which I have taken ground plans, the granite appears to have burst through the crystalline schists in lines irregularly radiating from a centre, or in rings resembling the denticulated periphery of a crater.

The most remarkable of the insulated clusters and masses of granite on the table-land of the peninsula are those of Sivagunga, Severndroog, Ootradroog, Nundidroog, Chundragooty, and Chitteldroog, in Mysore; Gooty, Raidroog, Adoni, Bejanugger, Gongondla, in the Ceded Districts; and those of Hydrabad, Paungul, Annagoondy, Copaldroog, and Idghir. In the country south of the Salem break, are those of Trichinopoly, Dindigul, and Alighirry; and in the maritime tracts of the Coromandel, are those of Vellore, Arcot, and Permacoil. The islands in the Chilka Lake, at the northern extremity of our area on the east coast, are of porphyritic granite.

Geological Features.—The rock of Nundidroog is almost one solid monolithic mass of granite, rising 1700 feet above the plain, and upwards of 4700 feet above the sea; that of Sivagunga is still higher.

These masses have usually one or more of their sides precipitous, or at such an angle as to be inaccessible except at a few points. This circumstance, added to that of their insulated uncommanded position, has led to their being selected by the natives for the sites of some of their *droogs* and strongest fortresses. Many of the names I have recapitulated will serve to remind the historical reader of the bloody struggles these granite masses have been silent witnesses of. Most of them, like that of Severndroog, are so steep as to admit of little vegetation, and present surfaces of many thousand square feet of perfectly naked rock, in which the veins and mineralogical structure are beautifully laid bare to the eye of the geologist.

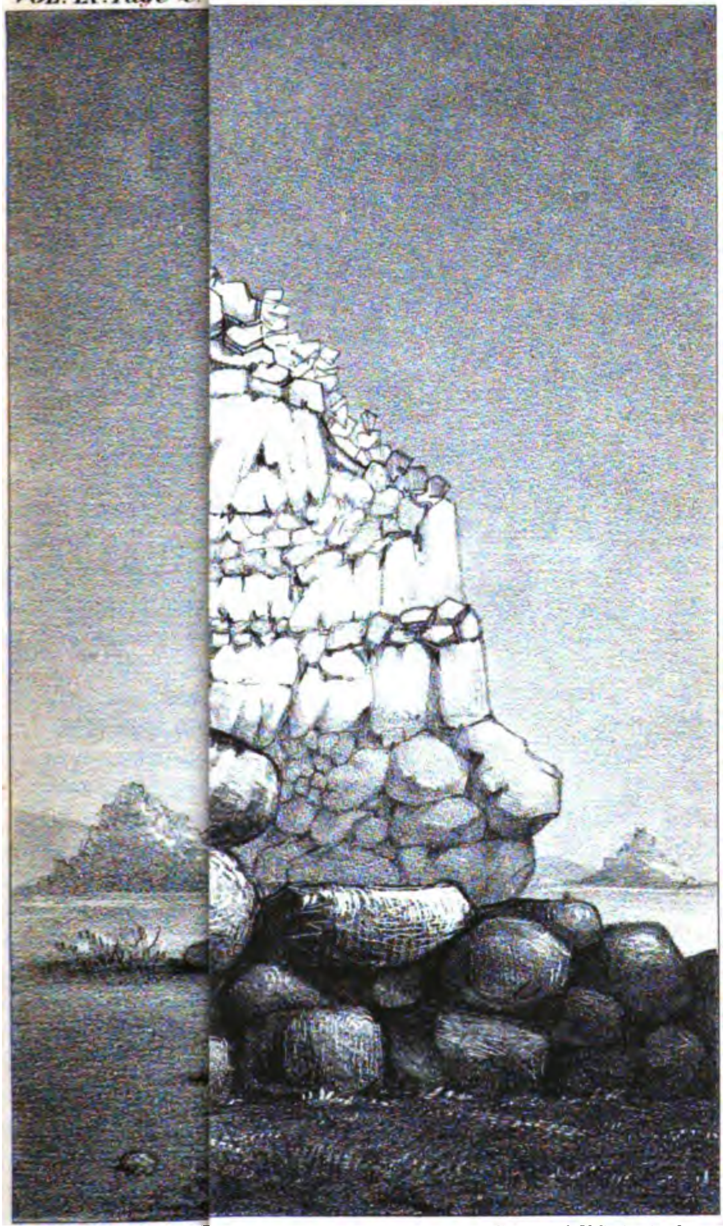
It is not to be understood that granite is only to be met with in Southern India in this abrupt amorphous form. On the contrary, it is sometimes found in immense undulating layers like lava rising little above the general level of the country, separated by fissures and joints, and running for a considerable distance in a given direction, like a regular chain of hills. The horizontal fissures often impart a pseudo-stratified appearance; and, when crossed by others nearly vertical, give the whole the semblance of some huge wall of Cyclopean masonry.

The cuboidal masses composing these walls weather by a process of concentric exfoliation into spheroids. This process occurs often on a grand scale, and the exfoliated portions compose segments of circles of many yards radii. This decay of lofty granitic masses produces some of the most picturesque features of an Indian landscape; its strange columnar piles, trees, and logging stones, which far excel those of Dartmoor in grandeur, and in the fantastic forms they assume.

I have attempted to describe the *modus operandi* of this spontaneous exfoliation in a previous paper on the Granites of India and Egypt[1]. Suffice it now to observe, that I consider it to be the result chiefly of meteorological and electric causes, acting upon and developing a latent concentric structure in the granite totally independent of any supposed planes of stratification, and resembling that often observed in basalt and lava. It is observed also in those stratified rocks which have been most heated, and altered by granite,—such as gneiss. The vertical laminæ of stratification, and even individual imbedded crystals of felspar, are seen crossed at right angles to their

[1] Journal, Vol. VII., p. 114.

VOL. IX. Page 2.



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direction and planes of cleavage by these lines of exfoliation. This concentric structure appears to be an approach to crystallization on the large scale originally induced by heat. The nuclei usually exhibit a tendency to the oval, globular, or dodecahedral form, and may be regarded as crystalloids. Sometimes the structure is obscurely prismatic.

At Boyagudda, in the Ceded Districts, a cluster of granite rocks occurs, in which one of those great natural walls, caused by the process of disintegration first alluded to, is seen:—a large rhomboidal mass, of many tons weight, has fallen out of the centre of this wall, leaving against the horizon the singular appearance of a large window. These walls will always be found where the circumference of the exfoliating segments is large, and the surface on which they rest consequently less inclined than where the circles are smaller. From the latter the exfoliating masses slide off to the base, leaving, perhaps, a columnar pile of cuboidal or spheroidal blocks on the summit or most horizontal part of the subjacent boss. Some of these piles are held together in the most extraordinary positions: and the blocks composing them are found connected by a felspathic, siliceous, and ferruginous paste, the result of the decay of the upper masses, washed down and deposited around the joints by the action of the rain. There they stand; some tottering on their base, leaning over, and threatening every instant to topple down upon the unwary traveller; others erect, amid a ruin of debris at their feet,—silent monuments of the process of the surrounding decay. Sometimes the summits of the higher elevations are composed of immense monolith peaked masses of granite, which split vertically; the separated portions are often known to descend from their lofty position with the rapidity and thunder of an avalanche. The different shades of colour observable on the same mass of rock, which have puzzled some observers, arise from exfoliation. If the exfoliation is recent, the surface will be found whitish or grey,—the natural colour of the granite; and if of a remote date, the surface will be darker and more or less weathered: the exfoliation of the iron contained in the mica and hornblende imparting to it a rusty appearance, darker in proportion to the quantity of iron. This dark colour is often increased to blackness where rain water lodges or runs over the surface; in some situations the colouring matter forms a thin coating from 0·1 to 0·4 of a line thick, composed principally of carbon, carburetted iron, oxide of iron, and occasionally manganese, with silex and alumina; the carbon has been superadded by the rain water; the rest of the components by the rock itself. A similar coating is observed on the granite in the beds of

rivers; Humboldt noticed it among the cataracts and falls of the Orinoko. This phenomenon is said to be confined to intra-tropical countries.

The disintegration of the surface of granite, when not exposed to the action of water, lime, or carbonic acid gas, is, in general, remarkably slow. The outside of the oldest Hindu pagodas, built of great blocks of this rock, rarely exhibit a decay reaching more than the eighth of a line; the surface of the granite quarries of Syene, cut probably before Abraham, and those of Bijanugger, whence were hewn the large blocks seen in the ruins of that great Hindu city, built upwards of five centuries back, are nearly as fresh as if split yesterday, and the marks of the chisel appear quite sharp and plain.

M. Becquerel has noticed this slow decay of granite in Europe. The exterior of the cathedral of Limoges, which was built about four centuries ago, exhibits a disintegration of about 8 millimetres on the average; while that of the granite in the quarry whence the stones were cut, shows one amounting to 1m 62. M. Becquerel, supposing that the progress of the alteration in the mass of granite took place in the ratio of the time, thinks that the alteration must have commenced about 82,000 years ago. In making this calculation, M. Becquerel does not appear to have taken into consideration that the granite in the quarry is liable to the intrusion of carbonic acid gas, the infiltration of water charged with carbonate of lime, moisture, and electric causes which either do not operate at all, or in a less ratio, on the stones of which the cathedral are built; and that the comparatively polished surface of the latter greatly contributes to preserve them from disintegration.

I shall have occasion to advert to the extensive decay of granite under the surface of the soil by the action of water charged with carbonate of lime.

As the rocks waste from the summit, at their base will be usually observed a tendency to a re-arrangement of the component particles of the rock going on in the debris there accumulated. At Chittledroog I found at the base of a granite cliff which topped one of the hills, a porphyritic-looking mass thus formed, of a reddish clayey paste, imbedding reddish crystals of felspar.

Lithologic Character.—Almost every variety of this rock is found in Southern India. Brongniart has described granite as composed of lamellar felspar, quartz, and mica, nearly equally disseminated: but neither his nor Mc Culloch's more minute classification will comprehend the numberless lithologic differences to be observed often in the same mass. In one part we shall find the granite of Brongniart, as

just described; in another, the syenite of McCulloch; in another, nothing but felspar and mica, quartz and hornblende, or felspar and hornblende; but the prevailing granite is composed of felspar, quartz, mica, and hornblende. Quartz, felspar, and hornblende, the syenite of some mineralogists, is also common, and runs into the ordinary granite. The syenite defined by Brongniart, as essentially composed of lamellar felspar, hornblende, and quartz, the felspar often predominating, is seen almost everywhere in granite districts. A good example occurs in the rocks of Paliconda and Tripatoor in the Carnatic, and on the east flank of the Eastern Ghauts, between Poornarvella and Cumbum. Benza[1] has supposed the Paliconda syenite to be of posterior origin to the usual granite of India, simply from its lithologic character, and from its being associated with trap, eurite, and porphyry. But the ordinary granite in its vicinity, into which it passes, is equally associated with these rocks. I am convinced that the geognostic distinction between granite and syenite will be found, as far as peninsular India is concerned, to exist in theory only, and that the terms we see so often abused, of syenite and syenitic granite, may be safely excluded, except for the sake of petrographical distinction, from the nomenclature of its rocks. Lyell[2] has well observed that some have imagined that the age of different granites might, to a great extent, be determined by their mineral characters alone; syenite, for instance, or granite with hornblende, being more modern than common or micaceous granite. But modern investigations have proved these generalizations to have been premature. The syenitic granite of Norway may be of the same age as the Silurian strata, which it traverses and alters; or may belong to the old red sandstone period; whereas the granite of Dartmoor, although consisting of mica, quartz, and felspar, is newer than the coal.

The term syenite appears to have been introduced by Werner, and applied by him to the Dresden rock, solely from his supposing it to contain the same minerals as the granite of Syene in Upper Egypt. Now the granite of Syene, which I have carefully examined, is quaternary granite, being composed of a crystallized flesh or rose-coloured felspar, quartz, mica, and hornblende. Humboldt was the first to point out the mistake of Werner, as to the geological position of the Dresden rock, which he supposed to be the same as that of Egypt.

That beautiful variety of granite, called protogine by French geologists, in which talc, or chlorite, or steatite replaces the mica, and

[1] Madras Journal, Vol. IV., p. 18.

[2] Elements, Vol. II., pp. 351 and 352. Second Edition.

which abounds in the Alps and in some parts of Cornwall, is not very common in India. I have met with it at Sautghur in the Carnatic, Mustoor on the south bank of the Kistnah, and in a few localities in Mysore, Salem, the Ceded Districts, and in the Nizam's territories. In all these cases chlorite and talc were the replacing minerals; the former predominating. Pegmotite, granite composed of quartz and felspar, is frequently met with; but the variety called graphic granite is rare. I have seen it only in the vicinity of Paungul, Nizam's territories, at Poddioor, the beryl locality, in Coimbatore, and in a few other localities, in veins penetrating gneiss.

Schist granite never occurs as a mountain mass, but is found in veins or patches imbedded in ordinary granite. The same may be said of actinolitic granite, or granite in which actinolite replaces mica. The latter usually is most frequent in hornblendic granite, and the actynolite passes by insensible gradations into hornblende. The felspar of actinolitic granite is usually flesh or salmon-coloured.

Orbicular granite, for which Corsica is celebrated, has not hitherto been discovered in Southern India.

Colophonitic and Garnetiferous Granite.—Colophonitic and garnetiferous granite occurs in the Nilgherries; the latter is pretty generally distributed, particularly in the Nellore and Salem districts, and on the skirts of the Eastern Ghauts northerly towards Orissa.

Porphyritic Granite.—Porphyritic granite, or granite having large crystals of felspar imbedded in ordinary, or small-grained granite, is common. The rock of Severndroog in Mysore affords a good example of the prevailing variety. It is composed of a granite base of felspar, quartz, mica, and hornblende, imbedding long pale rose-coloured crystals of felspar.

Granite Porphyry.—Fine granite porphyries are less frequently met with: a beautiful specimen occurs in a large vein or dyke which traverses the gneiss in the bed of the Cauvery at Seringapatam, nearly opposite the Sallyport, close to which Tippoo was killed. It is composed of a basis of compact reddish and salmon-coloured felspar, and a little quartz, imbedding lighter coloured crystals of the same, with needle-shaped crystals of green tourmaline.

Granite in which albite replaces the ordinary felspar occurs in the Eastern Ghauts north of the Kistnah, at Poddioor in Coimbatore, and occasionally in other localities.

The great prevalent mineralogical feature in the granite of Southern India, which, and the absence of tin ore, so strikingly distinguishes it from the granite of the Malayan peninsula on the opposite side of the Bay of Bengal, is its highly ferriferous nature. The mica

and hornblende is frequently replaced by magnetic iron ore in grains, veins, and beds; and sometimes, as in the Salem district, by fine octohedral crystals of the same, with polarity.

Most of the minerals and ores described as occurring in gneiss are also found in granite.

Beautiful crystals of amethystine quartz are found in the immediate vicinity of Hydrabad and Shumsabad, and occasionally kyanite. Fluor spar, sphene, lapis lazuli, anthophyllite, and stilbite, have not hitherto been found in the granites of Southern India.

Veins and Nests in Granite.—The ordinary granite of India is traversed by veins of granites both finer and larger grained: the former pass into eurite, a rock in which all the component minerals of granite are mingled together in one almost homogeneous paste.

The minerals composing the larger grained veins, are often in a state of segregation and crystallization. The mica, instead of being scattered in minute scales throughout the substance of the rock, is sometimes collected in large plates nearly a foot in length (used by natives for painting on); the quartz in large amorphous nodules, or hexahedral pyramidal prisms of equal length; and the felspar by itself in reddish layers and beds. The same tendency to segregation takes place also in great continuous masses of granite, and seems to depend on causes which will be described in speaking of the proneness to compactness and crystallization observable on the edges and in the centre of trap dykes: for, as far as my observation goes, the greatest tendency to segregation and crystallization in the different minerals composing granite will be found to recur most frequently towards the centre of areas occupied by granite, and *vice versâ*, near the edges; but this is not invariably the case. Sometimes we see crystals of mica and felspar shooting their long *axes* in a parallel direction over granite tracts of considerable extent, and at others confusedly huddled together. The last arrangement is by far the most prevalent. The causes of this apparent common polarity of the crystals in one situation and their irregularity in another have never been satisfactorily explained, and are a subject of interesting research.

The veins and beds of felspar are usually reddish, and penetrated by fissures, which give a prismatic structure: these fissures are often lined with compact felspar, coloured by actinolite, or chlorite, or with drusy crystals of the former mineral, which is also found in nests. Milky quartz is segregated into large beds forming chains of hills, usually containing nests and seams of iron ore, rock crystal, and crystals of amethystine quartz. Both oval and lenticular nests of hornblende and mica occur in granite, which have been mistaken by

some for imbedded rounded pebbles from the hypogene schists; but they are the result, evidently, of the process of mineral segregation just alluded to.

Veins of Granite in other Rocks.—Granite is seen in veins penetrating the hypogene schists of Southern India. Good examples occur in the Darogi hills, near Bellary, near Hydrabad, and Seringapatam.

The rock of Sanklydroog, in the Salem districts, a large mass of gneiss, is completely broken up by veins of a porphyritic granite, which has burst from below; the gneiss and associated layers of a fawn-coloured crystalline limestone exhibit evident marks of alteration, and are dotted with garnets; the limestone effervesces but feebly with acids. The porphyritic granite here in some situations loses its mica and quartz, and passes into a granite porphyry, composed of a paste of compact reddish felspar, imbedding crystals of the same of a flesh-red colour. The whole mass of rock, which is almost bare of earth and vegetation, forcibly brought to mind McCulloch's sketch of the granite veins penetrating the gneiss at Cape Wrath.

Intrusion of Granite in a solid form.—Granite, though occasionally found in veins, appears in many situations to have broken through the earth's crust in a solid form; as is evident from the sometimes unaltered and shattered condition of the strata immediately in contact. Where the granite breaks through the sandstone, between Gooty and Kyelcherroo in the Ceded Districts, the latter has been fractured so much as to form a breccia near the contact line. No granite veins are to be seen in the sandstone; the latter rock, however, in other situations has evidently been altered by the granite.

Before quitting the subject, I shall briefly notice a feature in the granite of Southern India which seems to have escaped attention, viz., that of its occurring sometimes in alternating hard and soft layers like lava or basalt, with wackes, clays, and amygdaloids; the softer layers of the granite differ merely in being of a granite more loosely aggregated, and often more micaceous and larger grained. The unequal weathering of these beds much influences the physical outline of granite tracts: when the layers are vertical, or nearly so, the softest layers disappear by weathering; their place being occupied by valleys or intervals separating the more compact layers; when the layers appear more horizontally above the surface, the outline of their edges presents alternate slopes and scarps; the termination of the harder layers forming the scarps. The effects of the process of weathering will be more fully entered into in describing the overlying trap. The great inclination of some of these granite layers proves them to have been disturbed since solidification.

Eurite.—The prevailing eurite of Southern India should be rather classed with the hypogene than the granitic series; although, in a few cases, as at Paliconda in the Carnatic, it is seen associated with granite. D'Aubuisson defines this rock as an extremely fine-grained granite in which felspar (compact) predominates; the whole forming an apparently homogeneous rock. The remarks of Sir H. De la Beche touching the European varieties are generally applicable to the Indian eurites, where similar discrepancies exist in the accounts of authors regarding this rock, the petrosilex of some, and the compact felspar of others. "Upon the whole," says Sir H. De la Beche, "we can scarcely avoid agreeing with M. Beudant, that, although there are certainly varieties of compact felspar, many substances, which cannot be considered as felspars, are so called often because it is not known what else to do with them."

Eurite is found throughout the granite and hypogene tracts of Southern India, but more frequently among the latter rocks, with which it often has all the appearance of being interstratified; in the granite it occurs in dykes. The eurite of Paliconda affords a good example of the compact felspar variety; while that associated with the gneiss, in the ditch of the fortress of Seringapatam, may be regarded as a type of the petrosilex eurites. It sometimes passes into eurite porphyry, imbedding distinct crystals of laminar felspar.

Diallage.

Diallage rock, the euphotide of the French, and gabbro of the Italians, has been classed by Lyell with volcanic rocks, basalt, clinkstone, trachytes, hypersthenic rocks, greenstone, ophiolite, &c. I have only observed it in two localities in Southern India, viz., in the Salem district, and in Mysore, at Bannawara, about eight miles westerly from Bangalore; in both localities it is associated with gneiss and mica schist. At Bannawara it presents itself in low elevations, consisting of angular rough masses of the diallage rock, half buried in a detritus, the result of its own disintegration. The masses have not the slightest appearance of stratification; but are divided by fissures, like granite, into cuboidal blocks. McCulloch, who had an opportunity of observing this singular rock in Shetland, where it forms an extensive track, is of opinion that diallage is a stratified rock of the primary class[1]. It occurs there, indifferently, in company with gneiss, mica schist, chlorite schist, and argillaceous schist. He describes it as being intersected by innumerable joints,

[1] Classification, p. 645.

which break the rock, as at Bannawara, in an irregular angular manner, so as to confound all appearance of stratification. McCulloch concluded its being a stratified rock, from its alternation on the large scale with the primary schists just mentioned; its passing into talcose and chlorite schists; its frequently containing minute beds of micaceous, chlorite, and talcose schists; and more rarely, of hornblende and actinolite schists. It includes small masses of serpentine, and associates with large masses of the same rock.

The diallage of Bannawara, lithologically, assimilates that of the Shetlands. Its internal structure is granular crystalline; it breaks like granite in any direction, and is tough and difficult of fracture; its texture, however, never resembles the laminar structure of gneiss. The rock is composed chiefly of diallage and felspar; the colours of the former varying from light and dark grey to greyish green, and bright green. The felspar is white, and greyish white; sometimes in distinct crystals, but generally confusedly aggregated; the general colour of the rock is light grey and greenish grey.

The diallage at Bannawara has more the appearance of a dyke or vein in the hypogene strata, than of an interstratified bed; but no natural section of the junction line of the two rocks presents itself. This locality and its vicinity should be examined carefully, in order to ascertain the interesting question of the relation of the diallage with the stratified rocks.

I have little doubt that, as observation progresses, many other sites of this curious rock will be found in Southern India, as it occurs, as Mc Culloch observes, in very thin beds, and probably very widely separated from any other masses of the same substance: hence it has doubtless often escaped notice.

Serpentine.—Serpentines, and dark massive magnesian, and talcose rocks, analagous to serpentine in geological character, occur as dykes and thick beds in the hypogene schists of Salem. At Cottah Mungalagherry, near Bezwarah on the Kistnah, Captain Macpherson describes an elevated and indistinctly stratified mass of this rock as occurring in the coarse and thickly fissile argillaceous schist associated with the gneiss.

At Turivicary in Mysore I observed a dark crystalline rock, the massive and apparently unstratified character of which, the angular and spheroidal blocks which crested and covered the sides of its dyke-like elevations, and the rusty surface of some of their weathered fragments, deceived me at first sight into the supposition of its being one of those numerous outbursts of basaltic greenstone so common in that part of India, rising like a wall from the gneiss, mica,

and talcose schists at its base. On close examination I found it was very different from any greenstone, or hornblende rock. It is composed of a dark grey or black talcose paste, imbedding numerous small black crystals of a mineral containing a large proportion of iron, being strongly attracted by the magnet. These crystals do not yield to the knife, and they fuse into a black slag. The paste usually yields to the knife, and is of various degrees of hardness in different specimens, and infusible, *per se*, before the blow-pipe. The fracture of the rock, on the large scale, is flat conchoidal; it is difficultly frangible.

It bears a beautiful polish; the surface exhibiting, on close inspection, in the dark shining paste, still darker spots occasioned by the magnetic crystals. It is quarried by the sovereigns of Mysore for architectural purposes, and forms the material of the beautiful pillars which support the mausoleum of Hyder at Seringapatam. This rock has been mistaken for basaltic greenstone by Buchanan, Benza and Malcolmson[1]. Buchanan and Benza took the dark magnetic crystals for those of basaltine or augite. The mistake is hardly surprising from the deceptive appearance of the rock, which does not seem to have been examined *in situ*. To me, from its mineralogical and geological features, the idea suggested itself of its being a bed of massive ferriferous potstone here common in the talc schist, elevated, indurated, and altered by one of the basaltic dykes that traverse the rocks in the vicinity. A fragment, which I showed to Mr. Lonsdale, at the rooms of the Geological Society of England, was pronounced by him to be talcose rock. The variety of talc rock called potstone, the talc ollaire of Haüy, and the serpentine ollaire of Brongniart, not only mineralogically resembles serpentine, being composed principally of magnesia and silica, but is often associated with and passes into it. In Southern India I know of no locality where serpentine is found in large beds except in talcose areas.

Mr. Lyell[2] classes serpentine both among volcanic rocks and in the hypogene strata: in the former it is described as a greenish rock, in which there is much magnesia, usually containing diallage, which is nearly allied to the simple mineral called serpentine. It occurs sometimes, though rarely, in dykes, altering the continuous strata. In the hypogene series it occurs both as a stratified and unstratified rock; and, besides the minerals above mentioned, contains talc. Mc Culloch[3], in the latter part of his classification, after his examination of this rock in Shetland, was compelled to remove it from the division

[1] Madras Journal, Vol. IV., pp. 14 and 199.
[2] Elements, Vol. II., pp. 208 and 386.
[3] Classification, p. 652.

of unstratified rocks, in which he had first classed it, and place it among the primary or hypogene strata, after limestone. He remarks, however, on the indistinctness of the stratification in serpentine rocks, which he assimilates to similar features observable in primary limestones.

The serpentines of Southern India I should also be inclined to refer to the hypogene series, from their passing into these rocks, their causing slight or no signs of alteration, and from their never having been observed to project veins or dykes into the strata in contact.

Geologically viewed, the rock of Turivicary has all the characters of a serpentine; and, mineralogically, it resembles the ferriferous serpentine or ophiolite of Brongniart, which consists of a magnesian paste, imbedding disseminated grains of oxidulated iron.

The Salem beds are interstratified with talcose and hornblende schists, into which they pass, assuming the character of an ophiolite near the junction with the latter. The former line is blended with the serpentine, assumes a light-green hue, mottled with reddish, blackish, and dark-green spots. Chromate of iron, magnesite, asbestus, and nephrite, as in the hypogene and associated serpentines of Styria, Moravia, Turin, and Baltimore, occur in veins and nests.

In the Cuddapah diamond sandstone and limestone area, wherever a trap dyke penetrates the limestone, the latter will be often found at the contact line converted into serpentine.

Basaltic Greenstone.

Geographical Limits.—Basaltic greenstone is universally distributed over Southern India; it prevails in hypogene areas; diminishes in those occupied by the diamond sandstone and limestone; and totally disappears in districts covered by laterite and deposits of a more recent epoch. It is most developed in the stretch of table-land between Bangalore and Bellary, in the Salem and Nellore mining districts, and in the Western Ghauts.

Geognostic Position and Character.—It never occurs in continuous overlying sheets like the newer trap, but penetrates in dykes the rocks just described up to the age of the laterite. These dykes often terminate on reaching the surface of the rock (fig. 1); or before reaching it (fig. 2); while others project from the surface in long black ridges (fig. 3); which, originally like a wall, have since tumbled into both globular and angular fragments, by that species of disintegration already described in speaking of the granite. Most of the blocks usually remain piled up on the crests of the elevations; while

others have lodged on their sides or rolled down to their bases. Many of these blocks have a peculiar metallic or phonolithic sound when struck; the well-known "ringing stones" west of Bellary afford a good example. These black, bare, ridges of loose stones, standing out in relief against the light-coloured granite or gneiss rocks, add another striking feature to the landscape of the plutonic and hypogene tracts. They often cross the country in a thick network, particularly between Nundidroog and Bangopilly in Mysore. Fig. 4 is a side view of a dyke projecting from the granite.

Fig. 1.

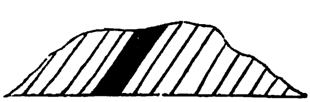


Fig. 2.

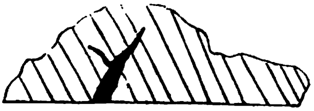


Fig. 3.

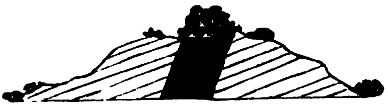


Fig. 4.

Sometimes the course of the dyke is distinctly observable at the distance of many miles by piles of such masses heaped on the mountains; and marking, with a well-defined line, the course of the dyke in the granite below, still compact and unbroken. Fig. 5 is a sketch of a large dyke near Bangopilly, ninety paces broad at the base, and seventy where it crosses the crest of the granite rock like a saddle.

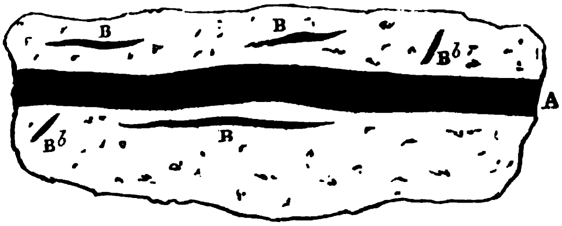
Fig. 5.

In many cases the protrusion of the basaltic greenstone above the general surface of the imbedding rock appears to have been occasioned by the weathering of the latter from its sides. The greenstone thus left unsupported and exposed to atmospheric action soon breaks up by the process of fissuring and concentric exfoliation. In a few instances it appears to have been forced in a semi-solid state beyond the lips of the rent in the rock without overlapping the rock; but none of these

projecting dykes have remained in that solid continuous wall-like state in which we see the prominent dykes of Somma or the Val del Bove. Their height above the general level of the country rarely exceeds eighty feet.

Direction.—The direction of the main dykes appears generally to coincide with that of the elevation of the mountains; nearly N. and S. in the Western Ghauts; and on the table-land of India, where the spurs usually run E. and W. or W.N.W. and E.S.E., we find the dykes usually following a similar direction. Many exceptions will be found to this rule; and, indeed, if we trace any dyke, the general direction of which in a course of many miles may be N. and S., we shall find it to zig-zag and curve in various directions at different parts of its course. In some instances the dyke takes a rectilinear course across the gneiss-based plain, and may be traced for miles by the eye; in some parts forming a dark ridge of blocks, elevated only from 5 to 80 feet above the surface; at others passing through great bare rocks of granite 300 feet high; and, now and then, sinking below the surface, again to re-appear, as the eye follows the direction, in a similar rugged ridge.

Many dykes fine off as they approach their termination; others end abruptly, or re-appear at short intervals. Short parallel veins are sometimes observed at a little distance from, having no surface connexion with the main dyke; though they are doubtless off-shoots by lateral fissures from the great mass of fluid basalt below; to which these fissures form accessory vents. The following figure represents the surface of a granite rock in the vicinity of Hydrabad, penetrated by the trap dyke: A, B, B, B, B, B, are the lateral vents filled with basalt. Some of these detached vents B *b* are nearly at right angles with the main coulée.



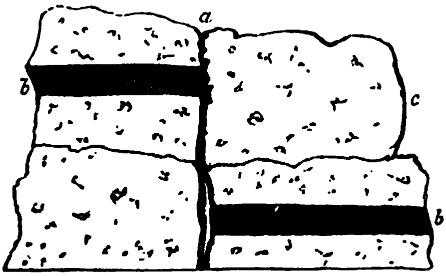
I have frequently traced these dykes to the distances of twelve and twenty miles.

Imbedded Rocks.—Fragments of granite and gneiss, both angular and of a lenticular form, are sometimes entangled and imbedded in

the basalt; and have been mistaken for veins, or nests of these rocks. It is evident that, in many instances, the granite and hypogene rocks were solidified prior to the great eruptions of basalt that burst up from below into their seams and fissures, and that the molten fluid imbedded all loose fragments of rock, &c., lying in them. It is probable that many of the fissures themselves were caused, or enlarged, as seen in modern volcanos, by the expansion of the molten basalt and its gases from below, while struggling for a vent.

There is no gradual blending of the basalt with the granite: a distinct line of demarcation exists throughout; while the smooth vertical surfaces of the granite that walled the dykes, and formed the sides to the fissures, are usually as sharp and smooth as if cut by the chisel.

There is little doubt that, in a great many instances, the granite and hypogene rocks, into the fissures of which the basalt has been injected, have since its solidification suffered considerable disturbance and dislocation, as nothing is more common than to meet with faults in the course of the dykes, penetrating these rocks, often of great magnitude, the sharp edges of which show that the dyke must have been separated and the dislocation effected when the basalt was in a solid state.



a. Fault causing dislocation. *b, b.* Dyke. *c.* Granite.

Lithologic Character.—The lithologic structure of this rock is as protean as that of granite. In the centre of large dykes we usually find it crystalline and porphyritic; and nearer the edges, less crystalline and more compact; in fact, every gradation of amphibolitic and augitic rocks, from basalt to melaphyre, in the distance of a very few paces. Near the sides, in the compact varieties, may be seen needle-shaped crystals of augite glancing in confused arrangement here and there in the close texture of the basalt; while a little nearer to the centre the augite almost disappears, and is replaced by fine large crystals of hornblende, and sometimes a few scattered scales of mica;

a fact bearing out the experiments of Professor Rose. This celebrated practical chemist, in following up the experiments of Mitscherlitz of Berlin, who had succeeded in obtaining, artificially, perfect crystals of mica and augite from their component substances fused in the laboratory, melted a mass of hornblende in a furnace, and obtained invariably crystals of augite in cooling. Hence the inference of the identity of augite and hornblende: the latter only requiring a longer period of cooling for its crystallization.

Near the line of contact with gneiss, the basalt often loses its dark colour, and becomes of faint green, like some varieties of eurite, or serpentine, imbedding iron pyrites. This faint green eurite is also seen as a thin vitreous and vesicular enduit on its surface, like the scoriaceous lava found on the surface of the dykes of Etna. The cavities sometimes contain a yellowish-brown powder, which becomes magnetic before the blow-pipe, or small crystals of epidote: in one specimen I found prehnite. The surface of the compact basalt in the dykes is often scored by small fissures, which, as in the Vesuvian dykes, divide the rock into horizontal prisms, and run at right angles to the cooling surfaces.

All the darker varieties of basaltic greenstone melt into a black or dark-green coloured glass, or enamel; and affect the magnetic needle. They are composed of felspar, hornblende, and augite, in varying proportions, and occasionally hypersthene.

The minerals most common to these are, iron pyrites, garnets, epidote, and actinolite. These minerals distinguish them from the newer trap, which abounds in zeolites, calcedonies, and olivine. I have never observed any of these minerals in the basaltic greenstone; though olivine is said to occur in a solitary specimen of Dr. Voysey's, in the museum of the Geological Society: this specimen, it is possible, may have been mistaken for one from the newer trap; although it is stated to have been taken from a greenstone dyke passing through granite, near Guntoor, south of the Kistnah.

Mica, quartz, selenite, and calc spar rarely occur.

In the greenstone of a dyke in the Cuddapah sandstone, in the hills a little south of Chittywanrypilly, on the Gooty road, I found almond-shaped and oval cavities filled with reddish foliated crystals and a mineral resembling prehnite; but the haste with which I was marching prevented my examining these minerals at the time, and the specimens were unfortunately lost.

Structure.—The greenstone occasionally assumes the prismatic columnar forms of the newer basalts, or rather approaches to this structure, as in the vicinity of Chittywanrypilly, Kurnool, and other

localities; thin layers of carbonate of lime often intervene between the joints, and between the concentric layers of the globular greenstone.

In many instances the basalt has a fissile structure, which, when intersected by joints, form prisms well adapted for building purposes, to which I saw them applied by the Hindûs near Havrighi, on the north bank of the Kistnah. In some cases, under the hammer, it breaks into rhomboidal fragments, the joint planes of which are marked superficially with dark-brown or blue dendritic appearances on a pale yellow or brown ground. It is difficult to break these solids except in a direction parallel with the planes of cleavage, which are often indefinite and obscure at the joints. The last, as Professor Sedgwick has observed with regard to slate joints, are fissures often imperceptible in the greenstone, and placed at definite distances from each other; the masses of rock between them having, generally speaking, a tendency to cleave in a direction parallel to them.

Thus it is usually easy to distinguish the joint planes from those of cleavage. The disposition to oxidation of the metals contained in the rock, and their attraction to the surfaces of the joint planes, is doubtless owing to electric currents circulating in the pores of the rock.

Rocks altered by Dykes.—Granite and gneiss in contact with a dyke usually become compact, or tough, or friable; the felspar crystals lose their brightness and a portion of the water of crystallization, become opaque, and of porcelain hue; the mica is hardened and loses its easily fissile lamellar character. In gneiss I have frequently seen it replaced by minute crystals of tourmaline, epidote, and garnet, as near Chinrayapatam in Mysore. Limestone is converted into chert, or becomes siliceous; sandstone into quartz; and clay slate into basanite, and jasper.

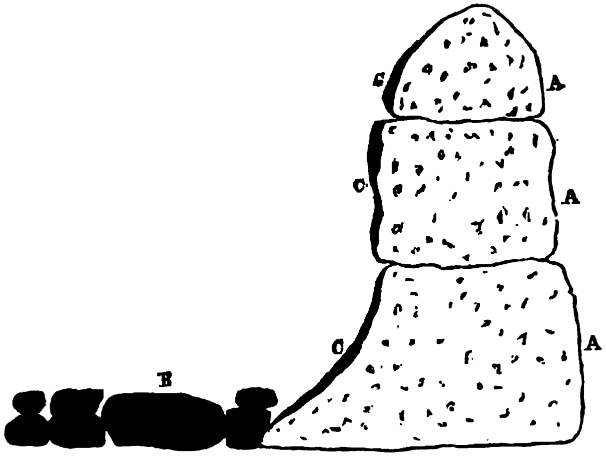
In districts most intersected by dykes a general tendency to crystalline and metallic development will be remarked, as well as an increase in the deposition of saline and calcareous matter, apparent in extensive layers of kunker, and efflorescences of the carbonate, muriate, and sulphate of soda. The fissures through which the springs charged with these minerals rise, were originally caused, perhaps, by the same disruptive forces that opened vents through the earth's crust to the molten basalt: and it is not improbable that these minerals and sulphates have their origin in causes connected with these ancient subterranean volcanic phenomena.

Frequently no alteration is to be traced in the rocks in contact with dykes; a circumstance readily accounted for when we reflect that the temperature of the injected rock is liable to great variation.

In certain localities, indeed, the basalt appears to have been reciprocally acted upon by the rock it has traversed. In the eastern ranges of the Ceded Districts, the basalt passing through the clay slate has frequently converted it into flinty slate; while the basalt itself, near the edges, has acquired a slaty structure, and become so much modified in mineral character as to be distinguished with difficulty from the altered clay slate in the vicinity.

The granite at the edge of a dyke running through the Peacock hills, at Bellary, in the Ceded Districts, affords a curious example of the effects of heat. At a few points on the edges the granite seems to have been fused, and carried on for a short distance (two or three inches) in filons with the stream of basalt. The mica and felspar have been melted and mixed together in a grey mass, and the quartz has assumed a smoky hue, or resinous yellow, resembling colophonite. Three or four inches from the dyke the granite begins to assume its usual appearance; but the felspar crystals are semi-opaque, like porcelain.

In the same locality is found, at the edge of a branch of this dyke, at the foot of a high rock of granite, a grey vesicular mass, imbedding angular bits of quartz. It is apparently granite in a more perfect state of fusion; the imbedded bits of quartz are probably from a nest or vein of quartz in the granite: externally the mass has a rough scoriaceous aspect, not unlike some trachytes, and more rarely a nodular or slag-like exterior.



A, A, A. Granite rocks, about fifteen feet high.
B. Basaltic dyke, weathering into globular and cuboidal masses.
C, C, C. Incrustations of basalt adherent to the sides of the dyke above its present level.

In some situations the dykes pass through walls of granite which rise above them on each side, like the precipitous banks of a river over the stream they flank; these walls have the appearance of having been filled with the fused basalt to a greater height than at present. A coating of basalt still adheres to the faces of many of the precipices, much above the present level of the dykes. Whether the basalt in the dyke has since shrunk down on cooling, or been removed by denudation, is doubtful. Fig. 1 is a sketch from a dyke in the granite near Bellary.

Art. II.—*Summary of the Geology of Southern India. By* Captain Newbold, F.R.S., &c., *Assistant Commissioner for Kurnool.*

PART X.

Newer or Overlying Trap.

Geographical Extent.—The overlying trap occupies almost exclusively the north-west limit of our area. Its southern margin may be traced from Sohagepoor and Sagar to the north-east, proceeding in irregular curves, with a general south-westerly direction, towards the western coast, where it is lost in the ocean. After passing Nagpore, where it forms the heights of Sitabuldee, a branch passes off to the south-east; while the southern margin of the main stream passes midway between Hinganghaut and Wurroorah; thence, in a south-westerly direction, to the westward of Oomerkair, by Nandair and Oodghir, to Moonipilly, a village between Hydrabad and Beder, about twenty-six miles E.S.E. from the latter city. Thence I have traced it in a similar south-west direction by Niraconda to within six miles north of the Bhima; here it has apparently been denuded, and the subjacent limestone exposed. The trap re-appears at a short distance south-west from the south bank, and resumes its south-west progress towards the sea; passing between Baguari, and Talikota, to the vicinity of Chimlaghi, near the confluence of the Kistnah and the Gutpurba. Hence it takes a westerly course, almost following that of the Gutpurba, to the north of the Falls near Gokauk, and by Kotabaughy to the Western Ghauts; it meets the sea probably a little to the north of Malwan. According to Mr. Calder, it passes by Merritch to the sea at Fort Victoria; but my own observations show its extent considerably to the south of these points, near the confluence of the Kistnah and Malpurba, and at Sarki and Rutnaghirry, on the west coast. Mr. Fraser gives Malwan in 16° 3′ N., nearly a degree south of Rutnaghiry, as its southern limit; but among the specimens of rocks sent me from Malwan, I did not find the overlying trap. It cannot, however, be very far north of Malwan, as Kotabaughy above the Ghauts is nearly abreast of that place.

From the vicinity of Malwan it bases the sea coast, by Bombay to Gundavie: the breadth of this enormous coulée occupies nearly five degrees of latitude. Its boundaries near Gundavie, according to Dr. Losh, are strata of clay and kunker; near Malwan, hypogene and

granitic rocks, which it overlies in thick sheets. At Bombay it is fringed by a recent formation of coral and shells, and between Bassein and Surat it is covered with horizontal strata of sandstone, supposed to be identical with the fossiliferous rock of Kattywar, and equivalent in geological position with the laterite, the sandstones of Ramisseram, and the silicified wood grit of Pondicherry.

Having now attempted to describe its southern and western limits, it may be briefly mentioned that its northern margin passes from the vicinity of Gundavie on the sea-coast, in a north-east direction inland by the east of Baroda to Dohud, where it has been traced by Captain Dangerfield; thence, by the vicinity of Neemuch, to Gwalior, where it was found by the Rev. Mr. Everest. It is said to extend still further to the north-east, and to the Rajmahal hills; though, it would appear, not as a continuous sheet. At Sagar the trap rests on a shell limestone; and, in Oodipoor, on limestone, quartz, argillaceous, and talcose rocks; on granite at Cummul; on limestone near the banks of the Bhima, and at Mudibhal; and along the banks of the Malpurba, on the diamond sandstone and limestone.

Colonel Sykes has traced its continuity over nearly five square degrees in the Deccan, from Bejapore and Merritch, on the south, to the Mool river, north of Bombay; and from Sholapoor and Ahmednugger, on the east, to the Western Ghauts, and the Southern Concan. Captain Dangerfield from Neemuch, on the north-east, to the banks of the Nerbudda river, on the south, covering the plains of Mahidpore, Indore, Oojein, and Baroda. Drs. Malcolmson and Voysey describe it as extending from the Nerbudda to Nagpore, on the east, over the districts watered by the Taptee and Godavery; the plains of Malligaum, Ellichpoor, Aurungabad, Amrawati, and Oodghir; while my own observations have traced its continuity east and west from the vicinity of Beder to the Western Ghauts, near Kotabaughy; and south from Bajapore to the village of Gurdinny. South of the Gutpurba, I found an apparently outlying patch of trap, the southern limit of which I traced as far south as Bangwari, a village about fourteen miles south-east from Belgaum, and moie than twenty miles south of the latitude of Malwan.

The western limit of this patch has not been defined accurately, but it has been traced from Belgaum to the slopes of the Western Ghauts. It is possible that this supposed outlier may be connected with the main sheet of trap near Kotabaughy, at its north-west extremity. The nature of its association with other rocks and its boundaries are difficult to define, owing to the patches of laterite with

which it is covered. Other small outliers occur on the granite platform between Hydrabad and the continuous sheet near Nagpore, at Bekanurpett, Medcondah, Kamareddypett, Nugger, Kowles, Sirpoor, Soorarum, Kair, Wurroorah, Bunduck, &c.; and on the banks of the Godavery at Bhadrachelum, Papconda[1], &c., down to the apex of the delta of this river, near Rajahmundry, and at Govinpatnam, and its vicinity.

This last outlier is the most southerly point on the eastern side of India, to which the overlying trap has been traced; it was discovered by my friend General Cullen, and first described by Dr. Benza[2]. The trap here caps beds of fossiliferous limestone, previously described.

Since writing the above, a recent letter from General Cullen informs me of his having traced the south-east extremity of this outlier to the vicinity of Govinpatnam, about ten miles and a quarter south-west from Rajahmundry, and the south bank of the Godavery, resting on the sandstone (diamond), which has a dip of about 45°. The trap forms ridges of low hills; the base imbedded in concentric wacké, the sides covered with loose nodules. He traced the trap to Letchmipuram, a village about four miles W.S.W. of Govinpatnam; and about half way up the hills a bed of cellular, flinty limestone in horizontal strata, more or less undulated.

The basalt is not of a dark colour, nor very compact: it imbeds green and white calcedonies, and crystallised carbonate of lime. The general level of the country may be about 200 or 250 feet above the sea. The low grounds contain beds of marl or tuff, varied by a number of gravelly or pebbly swells and hillocks; the pebbles are of a dirty white, or yellowish-white colour, like those at Purteal, in the vicinity of the diamond mines; they have been evidently derived from the subjacent diamond sandstone.

These detached outliers of trap, the last of which are distant several hundreds of miles from the great sheet; the singular break in its continuity on each side of the channel of the Bhima, more than seven miles broad, by which the subjacent bed of limestone has been exposed; and the beds of gravel beyond the reach of present transporting causes, tend to corroborate the theory already advanced, of denudation having taken place to a vast extent over the peninsula of India; to which may be ascribed in great measure that absence of the more recent fossiliferous deposits which characterize most other coun-

[1] Malcolmson, Transactions Geological Society, Vol. V., Second Series.
[2] Madras Journal.

tries, and the great exposure of the hypogene, granitic, and volcanic rocks. It would be difficult otherwise to account for the present detached situation of these outliers, except on the supposition of their having been formed around the mouths of so many distinct craters, of which there is no proof.

Physical Features.—The tracts occupied by the trap, viz., north and south Concans, the northern part of the Western Ghauts, and the table-lands of the Deccan, and Central India, present the different features of European trappean formations; but on a scale, perhaps, of unrivalled magnificence.

The Concan is the narrow belt extending from the base of the Ghauts to the sea. It has a mean elevation not exceeding 110 feet above the ocean's level, and is bristled with abrupt elevations of trap, some of which occasionally rival in height the peaks of the Ghauts themselves. Many of these ranges are spurs from the Ghauts, thrown off, towards the coast, at right angles with the general direction of the chain, and often affording the only mode of ascent; for the western façade of the Ghaut chain usually rises in inaccessible steps or terraces and bold escarpments from the maritime tracts at its base to the extreme height of about 4500 feet. From the crest of the Ghauts, towards the eastward, the trap descends in smoother and longer steps, and slopes to the general level of the table-land. The upper surface of these great slopes, almost level to the eye, is usually smooth and practicable-looking, but rifted in reality by fissures several hundred feet deep, running generally E.S.E. They commence usually at no great distance from the crest of the Ghauts, and form the great lines of drainage towards the Bay of Bengal; and, north of Bombay, to the Indian Ocean. Such are the channels of the Nerbudda, the Taptee, the Godavery, and the Bhima. Many of these fissures are remarkable for their extremely level bottoms, and scarped sides, and for being as wide at their commencement (often several miles) as at any subsequent part of their course. The most remarkable have been described by Colonel Sykes, viz., those which form the channels easterly of the Baum, of the Bhima, of the Mota, and the Goreh. The valley of the Under, according to Colonel Sykes[1], is six miles wide at the source of the river, and is level for twenty miles, running east and west to the very edge of the Ghauts. Colonel Sykes adds that, "if all these valleys be valleys of excavation, the present rivers could scarcely produce such, were we to suppose their powers of attrition in operation from the origin of things even to the end of time." The valley of

[1] Transactions Geological Society of London, Vol. IV., Second Series, p. 413.

Malsej Ghaut is several miles wide, and literally as level, even to the brink of the Ghauts, as if smoothed by art.

The formation of these singular valleys has given rise to some discussion; for, in fissures the result of contraction in cooling, and in valleys excavated by water, the valley will be invariably found to narrow at the source or the commencement. No valleys of excavation present that extreme flatness of bottom and depth at origin so remarkable here, and which it is difficult to account for, unless by the supposition that they are volcanic fissures floored by streams of basalt; that the present bottoms of these chasms were once continuous with the long and almost level steppes, which their subsequent depression has separated; and that these depressions have been occasioned, like the steep-sided chasm in the flanks of Etna, the Val del Bove, by great subterraneous subsidence; here are the same features of depth and width at *origin*, the precipices more lofty at the upper extremity, and diminishing gradually on attaining lower regions, which is quite the reverse in aqueous excavation. The bottom of the Val del Bove, now more than 3000 feet below the surface, has since been roughened by the currents of lava that have been poured there and cooled. The oval shape of the Val del Bove is no argument against this theory, as the longitudinal Val de Calonna and St. Giacomo are supposed to have originated in subsidence; and a narrow ravine about a mile long, twenty feet wide, and from twenty to thirty-six in depth, has been formed within the historical period on the flanks of Etna, near the town of Mascalucia. It may be stated too, that in 1772 a subsidence, fifteen miles in length and six in breadth, took place on the side of the volcano of Papandayang in Java[1].

The surfaces of most of these subsidences have, doubtless, been since modified by aqueous action; for it is very evident that the denudation on both banks of the Bhima near Ferozabad, to the extent of seven miles, could never have been caused by the existing stream, which has its rise near one of the trap valleys in the Western Ghauts.

There is another feature in modern volcanic rocks which may also e considered with reference to the singular valleys which cleave the sides of the trap mountains of the Western Ghauts, described in Sir W. Hamilton's Account of the Eruption of Vesuvius in 1779. He noticed that the lavas, when they either boiled over the crater or broke out from the conical parts of the volcano, constantly formed channels, as regular as if they had been cut by art, down the steep

[1] Lyell's Principles, Fifth Edition, Vol. III., pp. 424 and 425.

part of the mountain; and, whilst in a state of perfect fusion, continued their course in those channels, which were sometimes full to the brim, and at other times more or less so, according to the quantity of matter in motion. Over some of these channels a crust of scoriæ had been formed, having covered galleries, into which Sir W. Hamilton walked, and which he describes as exceedingly curious, *the sides, top, and bottom being worn perfectly smooth and even* in most parts, by the violence of the currents of the red-hot lavas which they had conveyed for many weeks successively.

The so-called "crater" of Lonar I take to be the effect rather of subsidence than as a volcanic vent, from the absence of any indications of the escape of streams of lava, and from there being no quâquâversal dip in the layers of trap and basalt surrounding its sides. (For section and drawing of this singular lake, see p. 41.)

The flat step-like features of a trap district on the table-lands, and the monotony of the long horizontal outlines, are here and there broken by pyramidal peaks, conoidal and sometimes triangular frusta. The sharp angles of the steps or terraces often wear away, and leave the mountain's face one bold sweep from base to summit. When this is the case the mountain will be generally found composed of wacké or amygdaloid, without any interstratified layers of hard basalt. Colonel Sykes[1] accurately describes the alternating slopes and scarps of a mountain, or range of trap hills, to be produced where three or four layers of amygdaloid are interstratified with layers of compact basalt. "The former rapidly disintegrates, leaving a slope which is not unfrequently covered with forest trees, forming a picturesque belt: the basaltic scarp remains entire, or it may be partially buried by the débris from the amygdaloids above; but its great thickness usually preserves it from obliteration, and it rises from the wood below with majestic effect; its black front being finely contrasted with the rich and lively green of its sylvan associate."

In insulated hills this succession of scarp and slope, running round the entire rock, and twice or thrice repeated in 500 or 600 feet of elevation, presents most formidable natural defences, which have been taken advantage of and improved upon by the native chiefs, in the construction of the strongest fortresses of the Deccan, Kandeish, and the Concan, such as Dowlatabad, Asseer, &c. Large water-tanks were easily constructed on the tabular summits, while the deep ravines which fissure the basalt afforded strong and safe channels of access and communication.

[1] Transactions Geological Society of London, Vol. IV., Second Series, p. 414.

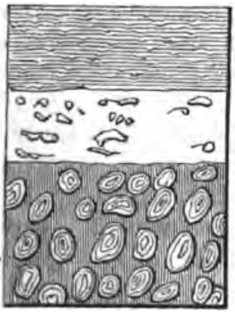
In continuous ranges this extended tabular surface of the trap forms the basis of the elevated plains of the Deccan, which fall off, easterly, in a succession of terraces; but so gradually that, though always perceptible from relatively low situations, where their contour is seen in relief against the horizon, yet, in travelling over the country, the slope is hardly to be felt. These elevated plains are often broader than the separating valleys, but sometimes contract into narrow, rugged ridges, again to expand. I have observed the coulées of lava on the flanks of Etna, where girt in by walls of older lava, rise into similar but still more scabrous and bristly ridges, and similarly expand after passing the channel; but at the present day we see nothing of the walls which confine the great coulées of the Deccan. Denudation, the traces of which are furrowed so indelibly in the outlying remnants of the aqueous rocks which now thinly cover in scattered shreds and patches the geological skeleton of Southern India, has probably removed them.

The height of these elevated trappean plateaus of the Deccan averages about 3000 feet near the anticlinal edge of the Ghauts, falling off, easterly and southerly, to 1500 feet; and near Nagpore, to 600 feet above the sea's level; above the surface of the separating valleys or fissures, from 300 to 50 feet. The maximum height (ascertained by Colonel Sykes) attained by the trap in the Western Ghauts is that of the mountain on which the fortress of Poorundhur stands, viz., 4472 feet above the sea, or a little above half the elevation attained by the granite and hypogene rocks of the same chain in the Nilgheries. In the Sagar District of Central India the trap does not rise above 2200 feet, nor sink below 1300 feet.

Geological Structure.—The most common structure is that termed sheeted, or pseudo-stratified; the result, in most instances, of successive outpourings of melted matter on a level surface, though sometimes massive and obscure. The columnar or prismatic, globular, concentric, and fissile structures are not unfrequent. The layers in the sheeted structure are sometimes straight, sometimes curved, and but slightly deviating from the horizontal; in the more massive layers the rock is sometimes divided, like granite, into cuboidal and rhombic masses, which often exfoliate in weathering by concentric and almost circular layers, leaving the ground heaped with spherical nuclei. The latter, however tough, compact and hard, are subject, after a greater or less interval of time, to a similar decay, and are often so numerous as to resemble cannon-shot of all sizes strewed over the ground. Even the columnar prisms are often seen assuming this globular form by concentric exfoliation; and when a group of columns has thus

weathered, we see a pile of balls often pyramidal, and apparently heaped up by the hands of man. Where tubular surfaces of rock are subject to this kind of decay, the ground appears paved with boulders, set in a number of concentric coats of brownish, greyish, or greenish-brown wacké. The former, from their superior hardness, stand out in relief.

Large sheets of trap, without any covering of soil, are not unfrequent, and generally exhibit a tendency to exfoliate. This structure is of such common occurrence, that it would be tedious to mention the localities. The following is a section of the strata near Bejapore, South Mahratta country, covering exfoliating trap.



Regur.

Calcareous conglomerate.

Concentric trap.

The spheroids are generally from a few inches to two feet in diameter; and resemble the striking example of this structure given by Mr. Scrope as occurring in the pitchstone of the Chiaja di Luna, in the Isle of Ponza.

Columnar Structure.—The harder and more compact varieties show the greatest tendency to the columnar, and prismatic structure: the latter is sometimes not discoverable until the apparently shapeless mass is struck smartly with a hammer, when it separates by invisible fissures into prisms, usually quadrangular, upon the smooth surface planes of which are often seen thin superficial ochreous coatings, inscribed with dendritic delineations.

Columnar basalt has been noticed by Colonel Sykes[1], on the low table-land of Kurdah, near Serroor, occupying an area of many square miles; at Kothool, twenty-two miles south of Ahmednugger; in the water-courses near Kurroos Turruf Runjungaon; in a narrow valley running westward of the village of Aukoolner, Ahmednugger Collec-

[1] Transactions Geological Society, Vol. IV., Part II., Second Series, pp. 415 and 416.

torate; at Jehoor, near the source of the Seena river, in a red cellular amygdaloid (a rare case). In the banks of a water-course running into the Hunga river, half a mile east of Parneir, on the elevated table-land between the cities of Ahmednugger and Joonur, basaltic columns are very numerous; five or six feet high, not articulated, nor quite perpendicular. The formation is extensive: the ends of the columns, chiefly pentangular, appear in the bed of the water-course, forming a pavement of geometric slabs and flights of steps in the southern bank. In the hill-fort of Singhur, at the elevation of 4162 feet, at the western end of the fort, there is a sheet of rock which has the appearance of a pavement of pentangular slabs, which are no doubt the terminal planes of basaltic columns. The same is observed on the hill-fort of Hurree Chundurghur, about seventy miles north of of Singhur; also in the bed of a water-course, one mile N.E. of Barloonee, near the fortress of Purrunda, 112 miles E.S.E. of Singhur; and, lastly, in the bed of the Mool river, at Gorgaon, Poona Collectorate. These pavements extend to Malwa, as Captain Dangerfield mentions[1] their occurrence in the beds of the Chumbul and Nerbudda rivers. "Along the whole bed of the former is a bed or dyke of horizontally stratified tubular basalt; each table of which is either rhomboidal or five or six-sided, and their thickness varying from one or two inches to upwards of a foot." He also notices columnar appearances in the basalt in the sides of the ravines near Mhow, and vertical prisms of four or six sides, from a foot to a foot and a half in diameter below the Jaum Ghaut, about a mile from the Nerbudda, between Mundleysir and Mhysir.

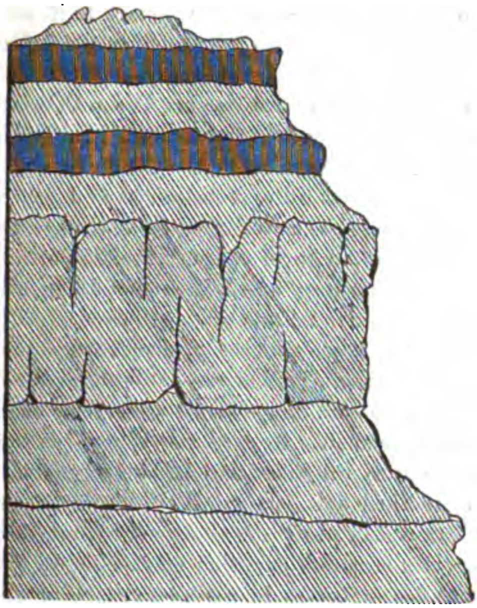
Voysey[2] found columnar basalt at Salminda, in the Gawilghur hills, and in the hill of Sitabuldee, near Nagpore. But the largest columns were observed by Colonel Sykes[3], in the scarps of a mountain running down into the Konkan, and seen from the Nanah Ghaut, about three miles distant. "Here the Giant's Causeway in Ireland is brought to mind; but the scale of the mountain is infinitely more magnificent, being nearly 4000 feet high." There is a double row of columns; but, from their inaccessible situation, Colonel Sykes could only examine them through his telescope, and was not able to testify to their perfect development. The following is a copy of his sketch, which will at the same time afford a good example of the slopes and scarps formed in a mountain's contour by the unequal

[1] Malcolm's Central India, Appendix, pp. 329, 330, and 323.

[2] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVIII., pp. 124 and 189.

[3] Transactions Geological Society, Vol. IV., Second Series, p. 416.

weathering of alternate layers of hard basalt and soft wackés and amygdaloids.



The only locality where horizontal columns were found was at Karkullah, thirty miles north-west of Poona, between Tellegaon and Loghur, in a hill scarped for the military road.

Columnar basalt occurs in various parts of the Sichel hills; and I have remarked this structure in various parts of the great plain of Bejapore. The columns are quadrangular; and, apparently, caused by vertical fissures dividing thick horizontal layers of trap; in a few the columns are pentagonal and hexagonal: from these three forms they lapse into the globular by the exfoliation of the angles. The fissures, though vertical, do not appear to indicate any common axis of disturbance, as they dip irregularly; they often extend to the beds of wacké and amygdaloid, but grow obscure after penetrating a little depth.

Colonel Sykes[1] states that the basaltic columns near the village of Kurdah, which are about fourteen feet in length and not articulated, lean from the east and west towards a central upright mass; others on the table-lands of Serroor, stand at various angles to the horizon, usually at 45°. In a mass of columns facing the west, and two miles

[1] Geological Transactions, Vol. IV., Second Series, p. 415.

south of the cavalry lines at Serroor, bent columns occur, which, though associated with jointed columns, are not articulated. The other localities where the jointed structure, or an approach to it, was noticed by Colonel Sykes, are at Kheir Turruf Rasseen, in the face of a headland abutting on the Bhima river, on which the town stands; in the ascent to the temple of Boleswar Turruf Sandus, Poona Collectorate; and in a well at Kumlepore, between the fortress of Purrunda and Barlesee, near the left bank of the Seena river.

As it is generally admitted that the prisms of lava and basalt are always at right angles to the cooling surfaces, the great prevalence of vertical columns is another proof of the prevalence of horizontality in the sheets of the Indian trap, which, instead of being poured forth on the slopes of a mountain, must have flowed over a nearly level tract. One or two instances, as previously mentioned, occur where the columns are inclined at various angles to the horizon; in such situations the melted trap must have flown over some inequalities, and exhibited a *curved* or undulating *surface*. Where the columns radiate from a common centre, the basalt will be probably found in the shape of a nearly cylindrical dyke, of which the whole circumference presents one cooling surface; and it is worthy of remark that, in the only locality where this structure has been observed, viz., in the southern boundary of Malwa, it occurs in narrow seams of a compact, heavy basalt, intersecting a less compact trap[1]. It appears to radiate from centres, at some distance apart; and after a little way runs parallel, till the rays from contiguous centres meet.

Fissile Structure.—The trap is often seen to assume a laminar structure; even in the vicinity of columnar basalt, quite distinct from that orignating in successive depositions or chemical precipitation from water, although the laminæ are frequently as thin as those of the finest slates. This structure closely assimilates, if it is not identical with, that of slaty cleavage so distinguished by Professor Sedgwick from the laminæ of depositions. It is doubtless ascribable to polar or crystalline forces acting in a given direction on the particles of the heated basalt, and determining these into an infinitesimal number of parallel planes.

This structure is confined to limited areas, and the laminæ are generally vertical, or nearly so; following, apparently, the same law as the prisms, in being at right angles with the cooling surface.

Vesicular Structure.—Near Mangoli, in the Southern Mahratta country, I observed empty vesicular cavities, both in the amygdaloid

[1] Malcolm's Central India, Appendix, p. 330.

and basalt, which did not appear to have ever contained any mineral, and were probably occasioned by gaseous extrication while the rock was in a fluid state. Some of these cavities had vitrified smooth interiors, while some were bristling with incipient crystallizations; some were nearly round, others curvilinear, oval, or compressed; and the longest diameters of these last had a general north and south direction, which may be received as indicative of the direction taken by the melted basalt in this vicinity; others, observed in the amygdaloid near Bejapore, had a general direction parallel with the long axis of the great sheet of trap.

Intercalated Layers.—The newer trap of Southern India is remarkable for the horizontality of its layers of amygdaloid, wacké, and basalt, continued over very large areas, and alternating with great regularity. The Vindhya ranges in Malwa[1] consist of alternate horizontal beds of basalt or trap, and amygdaloid. Fourteen of these beds may in general be counted, the thinnest at the top, and rapidly increasing in thickness as they lower in position; the basalt stratum at the bottom being about 200 feet thick. Similar layers occur in the same formation in Upper Malwa; and Voysey informs us that the Gawilghur mountains, extending for 165 miles along the left bank of the Tapty river, from its source to the city of Boorhanpore, are principally formed of compact basalt, very much resembling that of the Giant's Causeway. It is found columnar in many places, and at Gawilghur it appears stratified, the summits of several ravines presenting a continued stratum of many thousand yards in length.

As Colonel Sykes accurately remarks, there does not appear to be any uniformity in the alternation of the strata, "but the general level, thickness, and extent of a stratum are preserved, as in sedimentary rocks, on both sides of a valley; the basalt and hardest amygdaloid being traceable for miles in the parallel spurs or ranges; but the imbedded minerals, and even the texture, vary in very short distances." The basalts and hardest amygdaloids run so much into each other that the line of separation is not always readily distinguishable; excepting, of course, the lines of horizontal stratification. In the Malwa Vindhya chain, Captain Dangerfield[2] describes the uppermost of the fourteen layers of which they are usually composed to be from twenty to thirty feet thick; but their depth rapidly increasing as lower in position; the amygdaloid being the broadest, excepting the lowest bed of basalt, which appears about 300 feet high, and

[1] Malcolm's Central India, Vol. II., Appendix, pp. 322 and 327.
[2] Ibid., p. 322.

which constitutes the rock of the lower plain. The two or three upper trap strata are fine-grained and massive; but it gradually assumes the state of globular trap, the balls of which are at first small, but lower down increase, till in the last of these beds they are of immense size.

Mr. Malcolmson[1] describes the Sichel hills between Hydrabad and Nagpore, on the eastern limit of this formation, to be composed of basalt generally globular, the spheroids being sometimes of great size; but in many of the water-courses, even of the elevated table-lands, it has a stratified appearance. Small basaltic columns are also met with on the crusts of some of the spurs and higher ridges; and, where they occur, no fossils and few minerals are found. These hills, like the trap acclivities of the Ghauts, are arranged in terraces with steep sides, having projecting spurs; and their summits rise occasionally into conical elevations with rounded or flat tops. They inclose narrow valleys abounding in streams, or support table-lands covered with black soil, strewed with trap boulders, and having water everywhere near the surface. Granite not only forms the base of the hills at Nirmal to the south, and Yedlabad to the north, but part of the mountains themselves; the basalt being seen to rest on decomposing granite about the centre of the range, in a deep ravine, through which the Koorur river passes; it also again appears high in the table-land to the north of that river, and in one of the terraces of the northern descent, where the most extensive fossil beds were found.

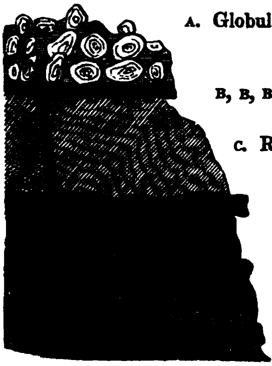
The elevation of the sheets of trap rocks forming the Sichel hills above the level of the basaltic plain of Hydrabad is about 600 feet, direction W.N.W.; breadth about forty miles, and apparently continuous to the last with the Godavery ranges, to the alluvial plain of Rajamandry, where it occurs at the hill of Peddapungali and Govinpatnam. While the trap zone of Gawilghur forms the northern boundary of the valley of Berar, the Sichel belt confines it on the south.

In the plains of Bagwari and Bejapore, and on the north bank of the Gutpurba, amygdaloid is the prevailing rock; while the compact and concentric basalt is seen usually in ridges, or dykes.

Between Bagwari and Alkopa, the road lies diagonally across low trap swells, which have generally a south-west direction, though their lines sometimes intersect each other at obtuse and acute angles. The tops of the swells are mostly slightly convex, though often terrace-like where isolated or truncated; and are composed of the more compact

[1] Transactions Geological Society, Vol. V., Second Series, p. 550.

and globular trap. In the banks of the nullas, the trap and amygdaloid may be observed alternating and passing into each other; the trap is generally the surface rock. Kunker is often so profusely deposited between sheets of amygdaloid and in the vertical fissures as to give the appearance of interstratification to the face of the rock. The following section occurs in a trap-hill a little to the north-west of Sindaghi, in the Southern Mahratta country, between Firozabad and the confluence of the Kistnah with the Gutpurba. The kunker seams protrude from the face of the cliff, in consequence of the more rapid weathering of the soft amygdaloid and wacké.



A. Globular concentric basalt.

B, B, B. Kunker in seams.

C. Red amygdaloid, with zeolites and calc spar.

B.

D. Wacké, brownish green and grey.

B.

D. Wacké.

In this vicinity beds from three to six feet thick occur in the amygdaloid, of a finely laminar, bright red bole, which yields to the nail, is greasy to the feel, gives a shining streak, adheres to the tongue, and when immersed in water, separates with a crackling noise; it is indurated near basalt. Colonel Sykes[1] mentions the occurrence of "strata of red ochreous rock," from an inch to many feet in thickness, and passing through every variety of texture, from pulverulent, friable, and indurated, to compact earthy jasper. "It is pulverulent near the basaltic columns at Serroor; friable under subcolumnar red amygdaloid, near the source of the Seena river; indurated under basalt at Kothool. Although hard, it is here so cellular, as to have the appearance of sponge; and, reduced to powder, looks like brick-dust. In the scarps of the hill-fort of Hurreechundurghur and a mountain near Joonur, in which are excavated numerous Boodh caves, it is found compact and homogeneous, and is, in fact, an earthy jasper. In these localities it lies under from 300 to 600 feet of basalt. In the former locality it is about three feet thick, in the latter one foot. At

[1] Transactions Geological Society, Vol. IV., Second Series, p. 419.

Nandoor, N.N.W. of Ahmednugger, in the valley of the Godavery river, it is found as a porphyritic stratum, many feet in thickness, and is used as a building stone. The imbedded matter consists of very minute crystals of lime. At Wangee, lying nearly in the latitude of Barlonee, but differing eighteen miles in longitude, and at Barlonee it occurs as an earth: as both places lie on the same level, I have no doubt the stratum is continuous between them. It occurs abundantly in the Ghauts, frequently discolouring the rivulets, and giving a ferruginous character to the soil over a considerable area. When thin and under heavy beds of basalt or amygdaloid, the exposed edge of the stratum projects, is rounded, and double the thickness of the stratum itself; as if it had once been in a tenacious fluid state, and squeezed out by the superincumbent basalt." Colonel Sykes distinguishes this ferruginous clay from the laterite, and considers it identical with McCulloch's ferruginous clay underlying the basalt of the Giant's Causeway.

It occurs in volcanic rocks still more modern. I have seen layers of the cellular variety in the vicinity of the Monti Rossi on Etna, at Aden, on the Island of Ischia, and in the Campagna around Rome.

Circumscribed beds of fossiliferous limestone have been inclosed between layers of basalt and wacké, as at Peddapungali, near Rajahmandry.

I am not aware of any other layers alternating with trap than those above mentioned. The amygdaloid sometimes passes into basalt by insensible gradations; but there is usually a marked distinction, as if the two rocks had been erupted at different periods.

Dykes.—Dykes of a more compact basalt are common at intervals over the whole of the trap area penetrating basalt, wacké, and amygdaloid. They are almost all vertical; consequently in them will be found, occasionally, a horizontal columnar structure; the globular concentric, however, prevails. The general direction of those visible is generally easterly and westerly. The softer varieties of trap have been indurated, the clays converted into jaspers, and the limestones silicified.

Veins.—Veins are not of very common occurrence; they usually consist of quartz, calc spar, or calcedony. I have often observed beautiful crystals of quartz, lining both sides of a fissure in the trap, and the vacant space in the middle partially filled up by fine crystals of zeolites and calc spar. Veins of a dull reddish colour, without any definite direction, traverse the trap of Bejapore, from which in composition and texture they do not vary much.

Lithological Character.—As all the varieties of the newer trap

rocks of Southern India occasionally pass into each other by insensible gradations, it would be impossible to describe them all mineralogically. Among the amygdaloids, having sometimes found that zeolitic minerals would prevail over a certain extent, at others silicious minerals, such as calcedonies, quartz, &c., and again calcareous minerals, I attempted to classify them accordingly, but soon found that the method would not answer; for, in most instances, the whole of these minerals are intermingled in proportions quite impossible to determine in areas of any magnitude. It is beyond doubt that in some localities finer and more frequent specimens of crystals of certain minerals are found than in others, where they may be often entirely wanting. The mineral conditions of the trap most favourable to the production of each of the three classes of minerals above named, is in itself an abstruse but interesting branch of investigation.

Amygdaloid.—I found the basis of the amygdaloid in which zeolitic crystals were most abundant to be a red clay, containing microscopic and invisible zeolitic particles disseminated through its structure, which became sufficiently apparent when a small portion of the clay is exposed to the blow-pipe, causing it to intumesce and curl up. When heated with muriatic acid, it forms a gelatinous paste, like the Silesian variety of basalt analysed by M. Löwe of Vienna.

Basis of the Trap.—The basis of the trap is principally hornblende and felspar, with varying proportions of augite and oxide of iron; the latter often prevailing so much as to render the rock magnetic. It passes (sometimes in the same mass) into the compact, black, grey, porphyritic amygdaloidal varieties; and sometimes into wacké and the red clays.

Basalt.—The black compact trap has usually a flat conchoidal fracture; fuses readily *per se* into black glass, or pitchstone; the fractured portions are faintly translucent at the edges. The rock is capable of an exquisite polish, and is largely employed by natives in the sculpture of idols, altars, and basso relievos.

Ordinary Varieties.—The dull brown, greyish, and greenish varieties are less compact, and have an uneven granular fracture passing into earthy. When reduced to powder a few of the particles are taken up by the magnet; the powder is of a dull greenish-grey or brown hue; does not gelatinize with acids. The average specific gravity of many specimens I found to be 3·35.

Most of these varieties, which are by far the most prevailing, melt into a green glass or enamel; some evidently containing much of the silicious material; for the calcedonies and agates, seen in its cavities, were infusible *per se*, but melted readily with the addition of a little soda.

Wacké.—The wacké is usually grey, reddish-grey, brown or greenish-brown, easily frangible, often pulverulent. It is for the most part disintegrated amygdaloid, and fuses, like the dark red clays, into a greenish glass of enamel.

Porphyritic Trap.—At the caves of Elephanta I observed the amygdaloid graduate into a grey porphyry, imbedding yellowish-brown crystals. This island, as also those of Bombay, Salsette, and Caranja, afford abundant specimens of the lighter coloured porphyries, associated with the basalt, amygdaloids, and wacké just described.

Near Firozabad, on the borders of the limestone, the trap has often a porphyritic structure, imbedding crystals of a dull olive-green mineral, not unlike olivine, which in decaying assume a greenish-brown tinge, and finally fall out, leaving cavities that impart a variolated appearance to the face of the rock. The most common variety of porphyritic trap is a base of compact hornblende and felspar, or augite and felspar, imbedding crystals of hornblende, green or hypersthenic felspar.

A singular variety, commonly called white basalt, is found in the Island of Salsette. It is of a white or yellowish-white colour, and varies from compact and granular to crystalline; the crystalline variety contains crystals of glassy felspar, and is evidently a trachyte. The granular fuses with difficulty before the blow-pipe, and assimilates a white fine-grained sandstone in texture.

There are two varieties of amygdaloid described by Colonel Sykes[1], which I have not hitherto met with, except in hard specimens, and which he states have not been noticed by authors on European geology. "The first is an amygdaloid, in which compact stilbite is imbedded in a vermicular form. One of its localities is the insulated hill on which stands the temple of Parvatí, in the city of Poona; and it is met with in many other places. Captain Dangerfield observed the same peculiar stratum near Sagar. He says, 'There occurs an amygdaloidal or porphyritic rock, consisting of a compact basis of wacké, in which are imbedded in great abundance small globular or uniform masses, but more usually long *curved*, cylindrical, or vermiform crystals of zeolite.'

"The other rock occurs as a thick stratum of amygdaloid, at the elevation of 4000 feet, in the hill-forts of Hurreechundurghur and Poorundhur; and in the bed of the Goreh river, at 1800 feet, near Serroor. The matrix resembles that of the other amygdaloid; but the mineral imbedded is a glassy felspar in tables resembling cleave-

[1] Transactions Geological Society, Vol. IV., Second Series, p. 424.

landite, crossing each other at various angles, and so abundant as to occupy a moiety of the mass[1]."

At Jehoor[2] and near Ahmednugger the basalt has angular siliceous pebbles imbedded; and in the Happy Valley, near the latter place, reddish flat transparent crystals.

Voysey[3] states that the basalt of Sitabuldee, near Nagpore, contains numerous amygdaloïdal cavities, for the most part lined with a peculiar mineral, which he styles conchoidal augite. I have observed at Alkopa oval cavities in the trap filled with a black mineral in a state of earthy decay, giving the rock a curious mottled appearance; before the blow-pipe this earth is converted into a black magnetic slag. Many of the vesicular cavities of this amygdaloid were filled with green earth, which, in moist situations, assumes this black or deep brown colour; while zeolites, in process of disintegration, leave a light ochreous brown earth in the cavities.

The following is a list of minerals found in the overlying trap collated from the papers of Colonel Sykes, Malcolmson, Thompson, Voysey, and from my own observations, showing their principal localities, and arranged after Phillips.

	Earthy Minerals.	*Chief Localities.*
Silex	Crystallized quartz	Ahmednugger, Kothool.
	Rose and amethystine	Nagpore and the Nizam's country.
	Pseudo-morphous quartz	Pindee Hills and Deccan.
	Common opal	Plain of Bejapore, Sitabuldee, Gawilghur.
	Semi-opal	Doondergaon, and banks of the Seena to Poorunda; Bagwari.
Silex, Alumina.	Calcedony, &c.	
	Onyx, Plasma	In the beds of the Kistnah, Godavery, and Bhima.
	Helitrope	Bed of Mota Mola river, between Firozabad and Sindaghi.
	Cacholong	Plain of Bejapore.
	Cornelian, Agate, Mocha stone, Moss agate, Agate jasper	From the Rajpeeplee hills, Baroche, beds of the rivers Kistnah, Godavery, and Bhima.

[1] Probably trachyte.
[2] Transactions Geological Society, Vol. IV., Second Series, p. 423.
[3] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVIII., p. 124.

	Earthy Minerals.	Chief Localities.
Silex, Alumina, Lime, &c.	Prehnite	Mazagon quarry, in globular basalt.
	Stilbite	Brahmanwareh, plain of Bejapore, Nerbudda valley. Caranja, Elephanta, Solapoor country.
	Heulandite	
	Thomsonite	
	Laumonite	In basalt at quarries of Mazagon.
Magnesia, Silex.	Olivine	Sichel and Gawilghur, Elephanta, Salsette, South Mahratta country.
	Alkalino-Earthy Minerals.	
Silex, lime, potash, &c.	Apophyllite	Poona, Bombay.
Silex, magnesia, potash, &c.	Green earth	Sichel hills, Nizam's territories.
Silex, alumina, lime, and Soda.	Mesotype	Plain of Bejapore, Western Ghauts.
	Natrolite	Deccan.
	Mesolite	Bombay.
	Analcime	Western Ghauts.
Silex, alumina, lime, potash, and soda.	Chabasie	Deccan.
	Acidiferous Earthy Minerals.	
Lime, carbonic acid.	Calc spar, rhomboidal dog-toothed, and dodecahedral, and of all shades of black, pink, yellow, white, and green kunker.	
Lime, strontian.	Arragonite.	
	Acidiferous Alkaline Minerals.	
Soda, carbonic acid.	Natron	Brooks, efflorescences on soil scattered over whole area.
Soda, muriatic acid.	Common salt	Lake of Lonar, efflorescences and in water of springs, whole area.
Soda, sulphuric acid.	Sulphur of soda	Lake of Lonar.

Calcedonies and agates occur in the amygdaloidal cavities of the trap, from the size of a pea to that of a six-pound shot or larger. They are often found in the form of geodes, filled, or partially filled, with crystals of quartz; sometimes amethystine, in the centre of which is often seen a crystal of calc spar. The exterior shape of these masses of calcedony and agate is extremely regular; sometimes

spherical, but more commonly compressed and irregular; generally botryoidal, or mammillary, or stalactiform. Sometimes the calcedony is so perforated by a number of small circular cavities as to resemble a bubbled mass of white lava.

The variety of calcedony called plasma is seen in the Nizam's territories, south of the Bhima, between Sunnoo and Jyattaky; it occurs in an amygdaloid, imbedding green earth, white calcedony, and calc spar. The white calcedony is seen distinctly passing into plasma, and the plasma, by different gradations of shades, from translucent apple-green to the dark and almost opaque green, into bloodstone; the colouring matter is the green earth; and the red spots we see in the bloodstone are evidently derived from the bright red bole which here occurs in layers and nests in the amygdaloid. The green colour in some of the white calcedonies is often disposed in delicate moss-like filaments. On exposure to the blow-pipe the green of both the plasma and heliotrope is destroyed; that of the plasma changing to a purplish-white.

The cacholongs which occurs in the plain of Bejapore are usually milk-white, and present both the hard and the soft earthy varieties noticed by Brongniart in the cacholongs of Champigny; the former exhibits a shining fracture, while the latter is chalky, light, and adheres to the tongue.

Among the zeolitic amygdaloids, heulandite and stilbite are most abundant; they occur often crystallized in geodes of quartz. The mesotype at Aklapoor on the Mool river occurs imbedded in large masses, and the radii of some of the crystals are six or seven inches in length. In the amygdaloid of the Solapoor territory I met with several specimens of a stellated zeolite (mesotype) in large transparent rhomboidal crystals of calc spar, one of which was peculiarly interesting, showing the gradual pseudo-morphic changes and forms assumed by the particles of the two minerals in a state of intermixture. The zeolitic rays may be seen in the transparent substance of the calc spar, diverging and decussating from the several centres of the star-like forms they assume. A whitish cloudy zone encircling the star shows the point where, apparently, the antagonizing crystallization of the two minerals begins to become blended and confused; beyond this the rays are lost in the substance of the calc spar. *Vice versâ*, stilbite also frequently occures, inbedding calc spar.

Calc Spar.—Colonel Sykes[1] states that in his district lime occurs only in three crystalline forms: rhomb, dog-tooth, and the dodecahedron.

[1] Transactions Geological Society, Vol. IV., Second Series, p. 424.

"The first," he observes, "is found on the surface, and imbedded in masses of quartz and compact mesotype; while the two latter forms are associated with icthyophthalmite in cavities in the amygdaloid strata." All these varieties occur in the Nizam's territories and the South Mahratta country: the rhomb is often found in veins. In the bed of a stream, a few hundred yards north-west from the village of Kunkel, in the South Mahratta country, I found slender prismatic crystals of carbonate of lime (arragonite), fasciculated in sheaf-like bundles, with dark fragments of chert in a friable mass of the amygdaloid; the radii of the crystals were three inches in length, and of a faint amethystine hue.

Titaniferous iron-sand is found in the beds of brooks and rivers running over the trap.

Many other minerals, some probably new, are suspected to exist in the newer trap. North of Aklapoor, at Gorgaon, a new mineral[1] occurs in a mass two feet in diameter, partly buried in the amygdaloid bed of the river: its colour green, and breaking into rhombs. Its measurements are those of calcareous spar, but the specific gravity is less. It is stated to be covered by green earth.

Volcanic Vents in Overlying Trap.—Captain Dangerfield[2] states that some of the hills, both in the Vindhya and in the neighbouring wild tract of Rajpeeplee, are said to have hollows sometimes filled with water near their summits, which have been thought to resemble distinct craters; and, in some places, near the city of Mhysir, there are pointed out in the upper bed, or near the junction of the two, large earthen vessels and bricks, asserted to belong to the ancient city of that name; which, with Oojein and above eighty other large places in Malwa and Bagur, are stated to have been at a very remote period overwhelmed by a shower of earth. The ruins are certainly buried in an alluvium, which has more the appearance of having been deposited by water, or having been drifted by the wind, than showered down by a volcano.

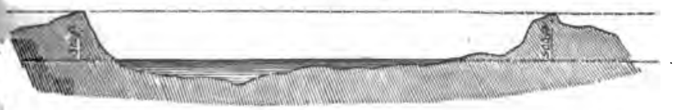
Malcolmson cites[3] the lake of Lonar as "the only instance of a volcanic outburst" discovered in this immense volcanic region, about the centre of which the lake is located; but from the absence of any streams of lava, and of the quâquâversal dip attending craters of elevation, I am inclined to believe it to have been occasioned by subsidence, like the Val del Bove, as before stated, or by a great gaseous extrication.

[1] Geological Transactions, Vol. IV., Second Series. p. 425.
[2] Malcolm's Central India, Vol. II., Appendix, p. 325.
[3] Transactions Geological Society, Vol. V., Second Series, p. 562.

& Co. St Martin's Lane.

The sketch of this singular cavity, which is nearly circular, about three or four miles in circumference and 500 feet in depth, was executed on the spot by Lieutenant Charles Cazalet, 29th Regiment Madras Native Infantry, and will remind the geological reader of the extinct crater now occupied by the lake of Gemunder Maar[1], in the Eifel, and the Meerfelder Maar, which is supposed to have been caused by the discharge of an immense volume of gas.

Section across Lonar Lake



The sides of the cavity are covered with a tiger jungle; the bottom is occupied by a small lake of greenish saline water, fringed by dwarf date-trees, &c., growing on a flat muddy shore. The water of the lake is chiefly supplied by springs both sweet and saline, which rise from its bottom. Two streamlets run into it from the margin, and its volume is much increased by the rains, when it is ten or twelve feet deep: in the dry weather its depth is not above from two to five feet. Underneath the layer of black mud at the bottom of the lake, one of salt, two or three inches thick, forms; consisting, according to Malcolmson[2], of

Carbonic acid - - - - -	38	0
Soda - - - - - - -	40	9
Water - - - - - -	20	6
Insoluble matter - - - - -	0	5
	100	0

and a trace of a sulphate nearly corresponding with that of the trona, or striated soda, from the lakes of Fezzan. The water has a specific gravity of 1027·65. It contains in 1000 grains,

Mur. soda - - - - -	29	0	
Sesquicarb. soda - - - - -	4	2	nearly
Sulph. soda - - - - -	0	1	
Also a little potash.			

Although the mud is strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen, the water has no unpleasant smell, and is clear. The salt produced is often striated and laminated in a beautiful manner, and of various colours. The natives often cut it into ornaments.

[1] Figured in Lyell's Elements, Second Edition, Vol. II., p. 284.
[2] Transactions Geological Society, Vol. V., pp. 562 and 563.

The deep and almost semicircular indentation forming the safe and commodious harbour of Bombay, embracing, like the crater bay of Santorin, many beautiful islets, may have once formed the side of a crater of subsidence. The whole of these islets and the high land by which they are encompassed, are chiefly of basalt and amygdaloid. No decidedly volcanic products, such as pumice, scoria, lapilli, pitchstone, obsidian, &c., have been found.

That some of this great formation of trap has been erupted in the open air, is evident from the lacustrine deposits it has invaded between Hydrabad and Nagpore, like the Eocene basalts of Auvergne; but the greater part of it must have made its appearance under circumstances of great pressure, and in the bed of the ocean. This may be inferred from the absence of cones and craters of elevation, its usual compact structure, the want of conformity of the trap to the lowest level of existing valleys, and the occasional intercalation of marine beds.

[*To be continued.*]

Art. III.—*A Summary Account of the Civil and Religious Institutions of the Sikhs.* *By* Professor H. H. Wilson, *Director R.A.S.*

[*Read 25th April*, 1846.]

There have arisen from time to time among what are considered the unlearned classes of the people of India thoughtful and benevolent individuals, who have felt dissatisfied with the religious practices of their countrymen, and with the distinctions of caste and creed by which they are disunited. They have attempted, accordingly, to reform these defects, and to reduce the existing systems of belief to a few simple elements of faith and worship in which the Brahman and the Súdra, the Mohammedan and Hindu might cordially combine, and from which they might learn to lay aside their uncharitable feelings towards each other.

Although not professing to be deeply versed with the sacred literature of either sect, with the Vedas or the Koran, the Indian reformers have been in general men of respectable attainments, and have been well grounded in the speculative tenets of the two systems which they have sought to amalgamate. Retaining the doctrine of transmigration, they have grafted upon it a philosophy compounded of the Vedanta principle of emanation, or the origin of individual soul from one great pure universal spirit to which the detached portions pine to return, and of the Sufyism of the Mohammedans, in which the language of passion is substituted for that of dogmatism, and the human soul and the divine spirit are typified as the lover and the beloved. These doctrines have been clothed by the reformers alluded to in a popular dress; they have been set forth in short metrical compositions —odes, or hymns, or songs—always in the vernacular dialects, and written in a style addressed to the imagination and feelings of the common people. These are usually chaunted to simple melodies, and even where they have not effected any change of opinion, they have become extensively diffused and have exercised considerable influence over the national character. These compositions gradually accumulated, and preserved in collections of various extent, constitute the literature and the creed of a large portion of the agricultural population of Upper India.

The teacher whose instructions have exercised, although indirectly, the most durable influence upon any considerable body, and aided by

political events, have tended to form a nation out of a sect, is Bábá Nának, or Nának Sháh, the nominal founder of the religion and nation of the Sikhs. He was born in 1469, at a village now known as Dehra[1], or the 'village,' on the Ravi, about thirty kos from Lahore, and is said to have been at first engaged in trade as a dealer in grain, but to have exchanged in mature age worldly pursuits for a life of meditation and religious instruction. The Punjab was at that time subject to the Pathan Sovereign of Delhi, Behlol Lodi; but then, as now, the lands were distributed chiefly among Hindu chiefs, who united the character of landlord and ruler, as rayas or rajas, over districts of different dimensions, paying revenue and rendering military service to the Mohammedan governors. One of these rayas took Nának under his patronage, and enabled him to disseminate his doctrines without hindrance or danger. According to the legendary biography of Nának, he was a great traveller, traversing not only India but visiting Mecca and Medina, working miracles on his journeys and making numerous proselytes. There is probably little truth in his Arabian peregrinations, although it was consistent with his religious character to have spent some time in wandering over Hindustan, and visiting the places held sacred in the estimation of the Hindus. It is most likely, however, that he passed the greater part of his days in the Punjab, endeavouring to inculcate his views among his neighbours and countrymen; several of whom, no doubt, adopted his notions; becoming, as the term *Sikh* implies, his disciples; the word being the provincial articulation of the Sanscrit word Sishya, a scholar or disciple, the sibilant, sh, being invariably pronounced, kh, in the western provinces. From those disciples he organised a communion, the superintendance of which he bequeathed to one of his principal pupils, named Angada, establishing a sort of hierarchy, to which perhaps it was owing that his followers were kept together as a distinct body. The successor of Angada, Amara Dás, became possessed of some temporal power, and built the fort of Kajaráwal. It would appear, however, that secular aggrandisement was not regarded as altogether orthodox, and the Sikhs who restricted their views to purely religious objects, separated from Amara Dás and attached themselves to Dharmchand, the grandson of Nának, as their 'Guru' or spiritual head. They then became known as Udásis, or persons estranged from worldly hopes or fears, or as 'Nirmalas,' individuals free from soil or sin. It is chiefly from these classes of Sikhs, the Udásis, and Nirmalas, that teachers of the theism

[1] Major Leech, J.A.S.B., No. 162, 1845; (but, query) if it is not the same as Kirtípur Dehra his burial place. Malcolm, As. Res. XI., 207. Malcolm calls his birth place Talwandi, or Rayapur, on the Beyah.

of Nának are to be found in almost every considerable city of Hindustan, sometimes singly or sometimes assembled in Sangats or convents. They have nothing of a political or military character, but devote their time to daily prayers and observances addressed chiefly to the memory of Nának and the perusal and adoration of the sacred volume which contains illustrations of his doctrines by various hands, in different dialects of Punjabi and Hindi.

This exposition of the Sikh faith, if anything so vague deserves the appellation of a faith, is known as the Adi Granth, the 'First Book' to distinguish it from another scriptural authority of the Sikhs of a later date. It is a large volume but contains no systematic exposition of doctrines—no condensed creed—no rules for ritual observances. It is an unconnected compilation of verses of a mystical or a moral purport, ascribed mostly to Nának, but comprehending the writings of other persons, many of whom had nothing in common with Nának, except a general accordance in a sort of spiritual quietism and the acknowledgment of one divine cause and essence of all things. The Adi Granth was put together by Arjunmal—the fourth Sikh Guru or pontiff in descent from Nának—who flourished in the reign of Jehangir, towards the end of the sixteenth century. The bulk of the materials are attributed to the predecessors of Arjunmal, but it is admitted that thirteen other persons contributed to its contents—or, as the Sikhs say, twelve and a-half, intending, most ungallantly, by the half, a female author. The copies of the Adi Granth, however, found in different parts of India, vary considerably as to the subordinate contributors; the greater number of the poems bear the name of Nának, but the rest are by different hands, as Kabir, Sheikh Ferid-ad-din, Rámánand, Mira Bai, and other well known sectarian or Vaishnava teachers. The following are specimens of the poems ascribed to Nának:

My holy teacher is he who teaches clemency;
The heart is awake within, who seeks may find.
Wonderful is that rosary, every bead of which is the breath;
Lying apart on its recess it knows what will come to pass:
The sage is he who is merciful, the merciless is a butcher.
Thou wieldest the knife, and recklessly exlaimest,—
"What is a goat? What is a cow? What are animals?"
But the Sahib declares that the blood of all is one:
Saints, prophets, seers, have passed away in death;
Nának, destroy not life for the preservation of the body.

Again—

Love and fix thy whole heart upon him,
The world is bound to thee by prosperity:

While it endures many will come and sit with thee and surround thee;
But in adversity they will fly, and no one will be nigh thee:
The woman of the house who loves thee, and is ever in thy bosom,
When the spirit quits the body will fly with alarm from the dead.
Such is the way of the world;
The frailty of human affections.
Do thou, Nának, at thy last hour, rely alone upon Hari.

Or again—

Thou art the Lord, to thee be praise;
All life is with thee:
Thou art my parents; I am thy child;
All happiness is from thy mercy:
No one knows thy end.
Highest Lord among the highest,
Of all that is Thou art the regulator,
And all that is from thee obeys thy will,
Thy movements, thy pleasure: thou alone knowest
Nának, thy slave, is a free-will offering unto thee.

Under the tolerant reigns of the first princes of the house of Timur the propagators of the doctrines of Nának were unmolested, and seem to have risen rapidly in temporal as well as spiritual consideration. Rámdás, the third Guru, enjoyed the favour of Akbar, and settled himself in an ancient city in the Punjab, which he so much enlarged and improved that it was called after him Rámdáspur. Among his improvements was the construction of a large tank which was called by the people the lake of Ambrosia or Amrit-sar, and this has, in modern times, given its designation and sanctity to the town so denominated, Amritsar. The wealth and consequence attained by the Sikh Gurus had, however, the effect of drawing upon them the jealousy and persecution of the Mohammedans, and Arjunmal, the fourth Guru after Nának, was seized and thrown into prison, where he either died or was put to death. The act was resented by the Sikhs of the province, who took up arms under Har Govind, the son of Arjun, and exacted vengeance from all whom they regarded as hostile to their religion. Their rising, however, seems to have been regarded as a mere local disturbance, involving no political crisis, much less as indicating the future developement of an independent state.

This persecuting spirit continued through several successions of Sikh Gurus, and in some cases, it might be more correctly termed retribution, for the Sikhs, dispossessed of their acquisitions or inheritance in the plains, and compelled to secrete themselves in the hills, collected into bands of plunderers and robbers, and by their depredations provoked the fate they suffered. Dissensions among

themselves also exposed them to the cruelty of their Mohammedan governors, and their ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, was publicly put to death in 1675, according to the Sikh authorities, at the instigation of a competitor for the Guruship—according to the Mohammedan writers, however, he was executed for his offences against the law by a life of predatory violence—at his death the Sikhs had almost disappeared except as a few inoffensive sectarians, or as scattered gangs of banditti.

The succession of the son of Tegh Bahadur—Guru Govind—constitutes the most important era in the political progress of the Sikhs. He, in fact, changed the whole character of the community, and converted the Sikhs of Nának, the disciples of a religion of spirituality and benevolence, and professors of a faith of peace and good will, into an armed confederacy, a military republic. The worship of "steel" was combined with that of the "book," and instead of attempting to unite Mohammedans and Hindus into one family fraternity, he made his disciples vow implacable hatred to the followers of Mohammed. He finally abrogated the distinction of caste, and opened his ranks to every description of persons, even to the very lowest Hindus, assigning to all his military adherents the name of Sinh —or lion—a term peculiar to the Rajput Hindus. His followers were enjoined always to have steel about their persons, to wear blue dresses, to let their hair grow, and to use as phrases of salutation, as a war cry, or as responses in prayers, the sentences; "Wah! Guru ji ka khalsa: Wah! Guru ji ka fatteh." "Hurra! for the unity of the Guru: Hurra! for the victory of the Guru;" expressions that have been since in use even among the more genuine descendants of Nának, the Udásis, and Nirmalas.

Guru Govind was an author as well as a soldier, and has left a record of his own exploits, in a work called the Vichitra Nátak, forming the first portion of a larger compilation which shares with the Adi Granth the reverence of the Sikhs. It is called the Dasama Padshah ka Granth, the Book of the 10th King, or more correctly speaking, Pontiff; and like the Adi Granth it is a compilation of contributions by various writers, but they are more of a martial and narrative than of a moral or speculative complexion. This as well as its predecessor, the Adi Granth, is composed chiefly in the Hindi dialect of the Punjab, written in the Gurumukhi character, a singular perversion of the Devanagari alphabet, retaining the forms but altering the sounds of the letters.

To Guru Govind also is ascribed the first attempt at the political organization of the Sikhs, by the institution of the Guru mata, or

federal council of chiefs, which assembled periodically at Amritsar, as long as the city was in the possession of the Sikhs, to consult on measures in which the community was interested, and to concert military operations whether offensive or defensive. It does not clearly appear of whom these councils were at first composed, but no doubt they were of a popular character, and every one who, through his hereditary landed property, or his influence in a village, or his reputation as a bold and fortunate leader, could command the following of a band of armed adherents, however few in number, was admissible to the conclave, and had a voice in its deliberations.

After making head for some years against the generals of Aurangzeb and the hill Rajas, whose enmity Guru Govind provoked by his indiscriminate ravages as much as by his religious tenets, he was reduced to great distress, and after the loss of his friends and his children became a solitary fugitive almost bereft of reason. Much obscurity hangs over the close of his career; but it seems probable that he was expelled from the Punjab by the Lieutenants of the Emperor and led the life of a mendicant wanderer: he is said to have been killed in the Dekhin in 1708.

Guru Govind was the last of the religious teachers, or Gurus, of the Sikhs, but the temporal command of his followers was assumed, after his death, by Banda, a bairagi, or religious mendicant, who inflicted a ferocious vengeance for the discomfiture and the death of his friend and teacher. The Sikhs rallied under Banda's guidance, defeated the Mohammedan governor of the province, took and demolished Sirhind, and crossing the Jumna spread desolation to Saharanpur, giving no quarter to the Mohammedans except on condition of their adopting the Sikh faith. Their progress was at last arrested by Abd-us-samad Khan, a general in the service of Farokhser. The Sikhs were completely routed and hunted from one stronghold to another until Banda and his most devoted followers who had been shut up in Lohgerh, a fort about 100 miles N.E. of Lahore, were compelled to surrender. According to some accounts they were sent to Delhi and put to death, with circumstances of great ignominy and cruelty; but there is a sect of Sikhs, called Banda-i, who believe that Banda escaped from the fort and settled in Sindh, where he died peaceably and left his sons to propagate his peculiar doctrines. These do not seem to have been of any essential importance, one of them being the abolition of the blue vesture—an innovation acceded to by the Sikhs in general, but stoutly resisted by the Akalis, a class of fanatics calling themselves Immortals, and who are are also known as Govind-sinhís, as being in a particular manner the disciples of Govind Sinh. These are still

distinguished by the blue colour of their garments and by carrying steel in the form of the chaki or discus always about their persons.

So rigorous a persecution of the Sikhs followed the defeat and death of Banda that they were almost exterminated in the plains. Some, however, again found refuge in the hills, and after a period of thirty years re-appeared amid the confusion which followed the invasion of Hindustan by Nadir Shah. Their necessities made them plunderers, and their policy suggested their forming fixed settlements by constructing forts, and compelling the cultivators to pay to them the government revenues. They were occasionally repressed by the energy of the viceroys of Lahore, but the distracted state of public affairs during the repeated incursions of Ahmed Shah of Kabul, was propitious to their growth in numbers and independence, and from this period they continued to gather strength and audacity, until they gradually established themselves in Sirhind and the eastern portion of the Punjab, between the Ravi and the Setlej. The death of Ahmed Shah, the dissensions among the Afghans on the one hand, and the total prostration of the sovereignty of Delhi on the other, enabled them to appropriate to themselves the resources of the country, to confirm their authority over the inhabitants, and to complete a kind of national organization.

The Sikh constitution grew naturally out of their political situation. During the period of recovery from the depression to which they had been reduced by the vigour of the Mohammedan officers, they issued from their retreats, for the sake of the plunder on which they depended for subsistence, in bodies of various strength under a leader who, from his personal character or his family influence, could gather a party round him. He was assisted by his relations, or by companions also enjoying consideration among the fugitives, and bringing contributions to the force of the leader. When they were successful the party remained located in the country which they had ravaged, and divided it among them; a larger portion of the conquered territory was set apart for the leader, but portions were distributed to every one who had taken a prominent share in the expedition. It might sometimes happen that the land itself, where left desolate and waste, constituted the allotments, but the usual plan was to leave the Rayats, whether Hindus or Mohammedans, unmolested, on consideration of their acknowledging allegiance and paying the government revenue to their new lords. In the fluctuating fortunes of the Punjab these lordships were at first of but ephemeral duration, but as some expired or were extinguished they were replaced by others, and some of them taking permanent root survived the dependencies

of the Mohammedan Governments, upon whose ruin they had risen. This was the origin of the various petty Sikh chiefships which, in the beginning of the present century, spread over the eastern portion of the Punjab, from the Jumna to the Ravi, comprising in their subjects different races both Mohammedan and Hindu, the hereditary occupants and actual cultivators of the soil who constituted, as they still constitute, the majority of the population[1].

The partition of the lands among the relatives and confederates of the leader led to another peculiarity in the Sikh constitution. The portions varied in extent and value according to the power and influence of each member of the confederacy, and the larger allotment as well as a predominating influence was assigned to the leader of the party; but each member of the confederacy, who considered that he had accompanied the leader as his friend and companion, claimed to exercise independent authority over his own share, and to be exempt from every kind of subordination or control. He was willing to be regarded as voluntarily connected with the chief, and with the other members of the original confederacy, and, in general, was prepared to make common cause with them, but he disdained to be fettered by any kind of allegiance either to an individual or the association. In this manner sprang up the several Misals, or voluntary associations of the Sikhs, acknowledging a common designation and a common head, and combining with each other on particular occasions, or in times of emergency to form the Guru mata, the national council or diet, in which every member of each Misal, however limited his resources, had an equal vote. Twelve such Misals existed in the palmy days of the Sikh confederacy; but those on the north and west of the Setlej were annihilated by the all devouring ambition of Runjit Sing, and those between the Setlej and the Jumna spontaneously dissolved under the protection of the British Government. The last general diet of the Sikhs was held in 1805, when the fugitive Holcar, and his pursuer Lord Lake, penetrated into the Punjab.

This notion of a unity of interests, or national identity among the Sikhs, as forming part also of a community of religion, was designated as the Khalsa, the Church Militant, if it might be so interpreted, for it expressed a vague notion of the Sikhs being under one spiritual guidance in temporal as well as spiritual affairs—a sort of abstract

[1] M. Jacquemont repeatedly observes that the Mohammedans and Hindus much outnumber the Sikhs. According to Captain Lawrence, the population of the Punjab may be loosely estimated at 1,500,000, of whom 750,000 are Hindus, 500,000 Mussulmans, and only 250,000 Sikhs. Captain Burnes made the population larger, but the proportions much the same.

theocracy. The term has since come to be applied to the temporal government alone, and the late Maharaja deposed Guru Govind, Nának, and the Supreme Being, whom the Sikhs professed to look up to, from even their abstract or typical participation in the Khalsa. At no time, indeed, was this imaginary unity so well maintained as by Runjit, whose elevation was in a great degree ascribable to the disunion which prevailed among the several Misals, and the conflicting pretensions of their members: a sketch of his rise will best illustrate the characteristics of the Sikh confederacy.

The first of the family of the late Maharaja Runjit Sing, of whom any record has been preserved, was a Ját farmer, whose patrimony it is said, consisted of three ploughs and a well. His son was a convert to the Sikh faith, and abandoning agriculture enlisted as a private horseman in the service of a Sikh chief. His son Charat Sing became a petty chief himself, and levied a small troop of horse with which he plundered the country. Being successful in his incursions he built a fort near Gajraoli, at no great distance from Lahore, and compelled the villages in the vicinity to pay to him the government assessments. The Afghan governor of Lahore attempted to dislodge him, but the Sikhs flocked to his succour in such numbers that the Afghan was glad to desist from the enterprise and shelter himself in Lahore. These events enabled Charat Sing to extend his acquisitions, and while reserving to himself the Sirdari portion he distributed among his principal associates the remainder of the districts whose revenues he had appropriated. He was thenceforward the head of a Misal, that of Sukar-chak, the name of the village in which his ancestors had resided. His Misal was one of the least considerable of the twelve, being able to send but 2500 horse into the field, while several of the others furnished 10,000 or 12,000.

The son and successor of Charat Sing, Maha Sing, distinguished himself by his military and political talents, and greatly extended the power of the confederacy of which he was the leader, although he died in 1792 at the early age of twenty-seven.

He was succeeded by his only son Runjit, then in his twelfth year, under the regency of his mother, but at the age of seventeen he put her to death for alleged misconduct, and assumed the direction of affairs. His resources were much improved by his marriage with the daughter of Sadá Kunwar, who had been left by her husband the regent of the Ghani Misal, whose possessions extended east of Lahore and included Amritsar. He became possessed also of the city of Lahore under a grant from Shah Zeman, the king of Kabul, on his retreat from the Punjab. The city, it is true, was not Shah

Zeman's to give, being in the actual occupation of three other Sikh Sirdars. The grant, however, was held to confer a title and had an influence with the Mohammedans, by whom Lahore was chiefly inhabited. Their ready assistance placed Runjit in possession of Lahore; important from its situation and extent, and still more from its ancient reputation as the capital of the vice-royalty of the Punjab.

It would be incompatible with the object of this sketch to follow Runjit through the steps by which he rose to the supremacy over the rest of the Sikh chiefs, and transformed an ill-defined and precarious combination of independant military leaders into a compact and despotic monarchy. His first great accession was the annexation of the Bhangi Misal, one of the most powerful of the whole, to his own, upon the death of the Sirdar, by the unjustifiable expulsion of the infant chief and his mother-regent. Taking advantage of hostilities with the Raja of Kahlur, Sansar Chand, he compelled various Sikh chiefs in the Jalandhar Doab to yield him allegiance and to pay him tribute, being assisted in his operations by the resources of the Ghani confederacy, under the direction of his mother-in-law, and by the Sikh Sirdar of Alu-wala, who became in early life and continued to be for many years his personal friend. These proceedings were confined to the east of the Ravi; but in 1804 Runjit was emboldened by the distracted state of the Afghan monarchy to invade the dependencies of Kabul, lying between the Ravi and the Indus, and, although he did not permanently establish his supremacy, he succeeded in enforcing its acknowledgment in the shape of gifts and tribute from the Mohammedan chiefs who had hitherto held of the Afghan kingdom. In 1805 he first became known to the British Government by the advance of Lord Lake's army into the Punjab. No great opinion was then entertained of his power or prospects. Sir J. Malcolm observes, his force did not amount to 8000 horse, and part of that was under chiefs who had been subdued from a state of independence, and whose turbulent minds ill brooked an usurpation which they deemed subversive of the constitution of the commonwealth.

The principal efforts of Runjit for the next few years were directed to the extension of his authority to the eastward, and several of the possessions of the original Misals were either wholly or in part incorporated with his own territories. He repeatedly crossed the Setlej, appropriated lands on its left bank, and interfered in the quarrels of the Sikh chiefs so obviously for his own advantage alone, that they became alarmed and had recourse to the British Government for protection as having succeeded to the power of Delhi, of which they acknowledged themselves to be the subjects, as in truth they as

well as all the Sikhs in the Punjab originally were, rising to independence only when the descendants of Baber were too weak to reclaim their allegiance. The appeal was admitted, but Runjit, although he relinquished his menacing attitude only upon the approach of a military force, was leniently dealt with: he was allowed to keep the places on the left bank of the Setlej, of which he was in actual possession, however unwarrantable the means by which they had been acquired; but the Sikh chiefs who had so far escaped his grasp were thenceforth protected from his violence or his craft: he thence returned to the westward and there sought more promising fields for the employment of his growing power and the gratification of his ambitious designs. In the prosecution of this policy he took Multan, reduced the districts between the Ravi and the Indus to his absolute dominion, crossed the latter river and conquered a considerable portion of the country of the Afghans, ascended the mountain on the north of the Punjab, and compelled the hill Rajas to pay him heavy tribute or to fly from their ancient seats to avoid his tyranny, occupied and ruined Kashmir, and subjected to his will the unoffending princes of Little Tibet, encircling to the north the Himalayan dependencies of British India, and approaching the confines of the Celestial Empire, with which his lieutenants finally came not very successfully into collision. To the whole of these possessions he had no other title than the sword, and his conquests, unchecked by the necessity of devising any pretext for them whatever, were the rapid growth of little more than twenty years. A kingdom composed of such heterogeneous materials could be held together only by the means by which it was acquired, and an overpowering military force was necessary to preserve the ascendancy which it had been employed to attain. As long as he preserved a good understanding with the only power in India whom he had cause to dread, as long as the British Government favoured his aggrandisement by turning a deaf ear to the urgent appeals made to its protection by the victims of Runjit Sing' ambition, he confidently prosecuted his system of aggression, and trampled with impunity upon the rights of his neighbours, whethe Mohammedans or Hindus. The transactions that have taken place since his decease have sufficiently shewn the rottenness of his system; the instability of a dominion based upon military violence and individual ambition; the certain consequences of relying upon an army as the main instrument and stay of a government. The successors of Runjit have perished under the presumption of the military chiefs, and the chiefs themselves have been the victims or the puppets of a mutinous and insolent soldiery. That soldiery has now been pretty well destroyed,

but the Khalsa has been left in a state of utter imbecility which will ensure its spontaneous extinction at no distant period, if it be not kept alive by the undeserved protection of the British Government.

Whatever may have been the political organization of the original Sikh confederacy it is obvious that it had ceased to exist; it had received its death-blow from Runjit Sing, and was latterly a monarchy of a despotic character, tempered by the necessity of conciliating powerful military leaders, or of holding them in check chiefly through the agency of their mutual jealousies and conflicting pretensions. The Misals were destroyed, the Guru-mata was forgotten, nor has the Sikh religion preserved much more of its primitive character. Its original elements were deism of a mystical tendency, contemplative worship, peace and good-will, and amalgamation of Mohammedan and Hindu. There was not much of dogma or precept, and its doctrines were inculcated through the channel of mystical and moral verses in a popular style. Nának Shah appears to have sought the amelioration of the principles and feelings rather than an alteration of the creed or usages of the people; he does not seem to have formally abolished caste although he received proselytes from every order, and while he treated the Koran with reverence he acknowledged the whole scheme of the Hindu mythology; so do his followers to the present day, that is, such of his followers as profess the pure Sikh faith. They do not worship images, they worship the visible type of the Khalsa in the book; but they do not question the existence of Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva; and the legends relating to them, to Vishnu especially, as popularized from the Purânas in vernacular compositions, constitute much of their favourite literature; except in the mode of performing public worship, and in the profession of benevolent sentiments for all mankind, there is little difference between a Nirmala Sikh and an orthodox Hindu of the Vaishnava sect.

Neither are the Govind Sinhis, the disciples of Guru Govind, to be considered as unbelievers in the Hindu mythology. They receive all the Pauránic legends as true, but they appear to be most partial to those of the Saiva sect, as harmonizing best with their fierce and martial character. It is affirmed of their teacher, Guru Govind himself, that he was directed to loosen his hair and draw his sword by the Goddess Bhaváni, of whom he was an assiduous worshipper. He says of himself, "Durga Bhaváni appeared to me when I was asleep, arrayed in all her glory. The goddess put into my hand the hilt of a bright scymetar which she had before held in her own. 'The country of the Mohammedans,' said the goddess, 'shall be conquered by thee, and numbers of that race shall be slain.' After I had heard this I

exclaimed, 'This steel shall be the guard to me and to my followers, because in its lustre the splendour of thy countenance, oh Goddess! is always reflected.'" In the account, also, which he gives of his mission, he says that in a preceding life he performed severe penance, meditating on Mahákála and Káliká (or Siva and Durgá), in consequence of which he was sent into the world by Parameswara, the supreme god, to establish a perfect system, to teach virtue, and exterminate the wicked. The last—understanding by the term 'wicked', the followers of Mohammed—is the part of his mission which he most laboured to fulfil, and which was the whole spirit of his reform. Hatred of the Mohammedans is evidently the ruling principle of all Guru Govind's institutions. His injunctions were, "It is right to slay a Mohammedan wherever you meet him. If you meet a Hindu, beat him, and plunder him, and divide his property among you. Employ your constant effort to destroy the countries ruled by Mohammedans; if they oppose you, defeat and slay them." The necessity, inseparable from this state of perpetual hostility, of filling his coffers and recruiting his bands, compelled him to have recourse to indiscriminate plunder, and to admit of the proselytism of Mohammedans; but deadly enmity to the latter is the ruling element of his system. To this he has sacrificed the benevolent spirit of the teaching of Nának, and the sacredness of the distinction of caste. As far, however, as is allowable by the institutions of Nának or Govind, the Sikhs observe the domestic usages of the Hindu tribes or castes from which they separated; and, in consequence, those tribes, particularly the Játs or Gujars in the Punjab or on the Jumna, do not refuse to eat or intermarry with those of the same races who have become converts to the Sikh religion. The Mohammedan converts are not permitted the same indulgence, and are obliged to eat the flesh of swine, and to abstain from the rite of circumcision. The flesh of the cow is the only article of food prohibited to the Sikhs; and on this head their prejudices are almost stronger than those of the Hindus. Smoking is also prohibited, but there is no restriction upon the use of bhang, opium, or spirituous liquor, and drunkenness, from one source or other, is a common vice. Nor is this the only one to which the Sikhs are addicted. The verses of Nának and his fellow moralists inculcate a pure code of ethics, but this is a portion of his reform to which no reverence is paid; and no race in India is more flagrantly demoralized than the Lions of the Punjab.

We do not derive from the travellers in the Punjab any description of the public or private worship of the Sikhs, who are probably more jealous in their own country of admitting strangers to be present at their ceremonies than they are in other parts of India. Although

several persons have been admitted into the city of Amritsar, it is only recently that it was allowable or safe to visit the sacred tank and temples in its vicinity. The only description that has yet been published is to be found in the Travels of Baron Hügel. According to him, the tank is about 150 paces square, and apparently fed by a natural spring. It is surrounded by a pavement 20 or 25 paces in breadth, skirted by houses on one side, and having several flights of steps to the water on the other. In the centre is the Hari Mandir, or Temple of Hari, in which a copy of the Adi Granth, said to be written by Nának himself, is preserved—a tradition rather at variance with the assertion that the Adi Granth was compiled by Arjunmal. The temple is connected with the embankment on the west side by a bridge. The temple is described by Baron Hügel as a handsome building inlaid with marble, having a golden roof, and a door of gold; and surrounded by small vestibules, the ceilings of which are supported by richly-ornamented pillars Before the entrance to the bridge are two large banners of red silk, the "Wah! Guru ji ka fatteh" on one, and "Rám Dás" on the other, in white letters. Opposite to the bridge are several small structures, in which the Sikh Udásis and Nirmalas are seated, to receive the gifts and reverences of the people. Fronting this tank was the chief gathering-place of the Akális, whose insolence made it dangerous to approach the holy precincts; but they are not noticed by Baron Hügel. The sacred tank and temple of Amritsar were also visited by our noble President, when Governor-General, in company with Runjit Sing. Whatever may have been the obstructions heretofore in the way of a personal acquaintance with the observances of the Sikhs in their own country, they seem to have had no objection, when out of the Punjab, to the presence of European visitors; and one of the earliest notices of them is the account given by Mr. Wilkins, in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, of his visit to the Sikh college at Patna. He was civilly treated, and allowed not only to see the place, but to be present at the public reading of the Granth, which constitutes the public ceremonial of the Sikhs. They have for their private use prayers composed by Nának, of which those called Arthi are recited on going to bed, and those entitled Jap are repeated the first thing in the morning. Their public worship, in imitation of the Hindu ritual, takes place three times a day, at the three Sandhyas—morning, mid-day, and sunset. I had an opportunity, when at Benares, of assisting at the latter, at the house of a Nirmala Sikh priest, who readily allowed myself and a friend to witness the ceremony. It was very simple. He occupied a lower-roomed house, inclosed in a small court or compound, and having a covered verandah in front. One end of the

verandah was shut in, so as to form a small chamber or chapel, in which, upon a table covered with a white cloth, and decorated with lights and flowers, lay the Adi Granth. As the people entered, they went singly into the room, and made a reverential salute to the book, with the exclamation, "Wah Guru ji;" and placed upon the table any small offering they might have to make. They then came forth, and seated themselves on the ground fronting the verandah, where sat the Guru on a chair, and his two guests on either hand of him. When the whole party, amounting to some thirty or forty, had assembled, the Guru recited, in a sort of chaunt, several hymns from the Granth, similar to those already quoted, repeating at the end of each, twice or thrice, "Meditate on the Saheb of the Book, and exclaim Wah Guru!" being answered on each occasion by all present, "Wah Guru—Wah Guru ji ka fatteh." The assistants then brought from the chapel trays of sweetmeats, which were handed to every one, and were eaten on the spot. The visitors were not forgotten. This concluded the service; but the party assembled did not immediately disperse. Individuals among them, accompanying themselves with the small drum or native lute, sang Hindi rekhtas and padas (moral and religious songs) in succession. We departed, as did several of the natives, when two or three had been sung; but the party did not finally break up until it was time to retire to rest. The persons present were of respectable appearance and decorous manners, being mostly shop-keepers, dealers in cloth or in grain, and bankers; some were natives of the Punjab, settled in Benares, others inhabitants of the city from different quarters, who had adopted the Sikh ritual, or had grafted it upon Vaishnava tenets. Hari and Ram were as familiar in their invocations, as the Saheb of the Book, or as the teacher or Guru.

Besides sacred shrines, connected with the history of the Sikhs, as the places where their Gurus were born or died, the Sikhs share the veneration of the Hindus for several of the holy cities, as Benares, Mathura, Haridwar. They also observe many of the same holidays, as the Holi, the Dasahara, the Dewali. The latter is the favourite season of pilgrimage to Amritsar.

The initiation of a Sikh convert is termed the Páhal, and is thus described by Captain Murray. "The candidate and the initiator wash their feet in the same water, which they then drink, having put some sugar into it, and stirred it with a dagger; repeating several moral stanzas, and taking a sip between each, exclaiming, 'Wah, wah Govind Sikh. Ap hi Guru chela!' Govind Sikh hail, himself teacher and disciple! It should be performed in the presence of at least five

Sikhs. It is ascribed to Guru Govind, who, when he had only five followers, went through this form with them, drinking of the water which had washed their feet, and they drinking that which had washed his." Sir John Malcolm gives a somewhat different and more dilated account of the ceremony, and says nothing of the previous use of the water, which is administered to the convert by the initiator with this injunction, "This sherbet is nectar: it is the water of life; drink it." Having obeyed, the disciple is told to abstain from all association with five classes of men: the Mína Dhirmal, who, though of the family of Nának, attempted to poison Arjun; the Musundia, a set of Sikh heretics; the Rám Ráyis, the descendants of Rám Ráya, who caused the death of Tegh Sinh; the Kud-i-man, or daughter-slayers, or the Rajputs; and the Bhadani, who shave their heads and beards. He is then enjoined to be kind and charitable, to reverence Amritsar, to devote himself to the Khalsa, and to study the sacred books. The children of the Sikhs all pass through this form of initiation.

From this sketch, imperfect as it must necessarily be, it will be seen that the Sikh religion scarcely deserves the name of a religious faith. A vague notion of a Creator and source of all things, and of a divine guardian and protector, pervades the poetry of Nának and his fellow bards, but it is little else than a poetical acknowledgment of a deity who is defined by negatives—who is without form—without time—without attributes. The only worship of him, if it can be called such, consists in the allusions that occur in the odes and hymns which are chaunted at the daily services, to a benevolent and powerful being, designated sometimes as Parameswara—the supreme being; Sat Nám—the true name; Tat-kartá—the maker of that which is; Adi-purusha—the first spirit; Bhagaván—the lord; but still more frequently as Rám or Hari, the popular names of Vishnu. Belief in the intervention of a providence in mundane affairs exercises very little influence upon Sikh practice. There is no public adoration of any of the Hindu divinities, nor, as far as is known, are any temples erected to them; but their existence is not disputed, and the characters given them by the Hindus and the legends told of them are devoutly credited; and there are probably some esoteric rites in which the worship of the Tantras is privately practised. The great distinction between the Sikhs and the other Hindus, is the abolition of the distinction of caste, and consequent extinction of many of the restraints which, in the more orthodox system, supply, however imperfectly, the want of a purer code of faith and practice. The experiment has not been very successful; and the worship of the Book and of the Sword, and the moral declamations of the contributors to the

sacred Granth, have led to as great, if not a greater, laxity of conduct, and as utter a disregard of both religious and moral obligations, as the superstitious belief and multiplied ceremonial of the Brahmans[1].

[1] The above summary has been drawn up in compliance with a wish expressed by some of the Members of the Society to be possessed of a brief notice of the institutions of the Sikhs which distinguish them from the Hindus in general. It is of course little more than a compilation from the accounts of the Sikhs already in print, especially those of Sir John Malcolm and Captain Murray, as prepared by Mr. H. T. Prinsep; recourse has been also had to the observations of recent travellers in the Punjab—particularly Messrs. Moorcroft, Burnes, Jacquemont, and Baron von Hügel, and to the amusing and characteristic work of Major Lawrence—Adventures of an Officer in the Punjab.

Art. IV.—*The Religious Festivals of the Hindus.* *By* H. H. Wilson, Dir. R.A.S.

Among all the nations of the ancient world, a considerable portion of the year was devoted to the solemnization of public festivals, at which the people found in the assemblage of multitudes, in the exhibition of games, and in religious pageants and ceremonies, a compensation for the want of those more refined entertainments which are created by the necessities and the luxury of a more advanced stage of civilization. Some of these primitive celebrations have retained their hold upon national tastes and feelings long after their origin and meaning were forgotten, and become interwoven with new conditions of society, with altered manners and institutions, and with a total change of religion. In all the countries of Europe they have left at least traces of their former prevalence in the nomenclature of our calendars, and many of the holidays which are appropriated to the saints of the Christian Church have been borrowed from the public festivals of ancient paganism. In proportion also as nations, or as different classes of the same nation, retain their primitive habits, the observances of olden times enjoy their veneration, and interest their affections. They are, however, fast fading in the Western world, even from the faith of tradition, before the extension of knowledge and refinement, and before the augmented demands for toil which the present artificial modes of life impose, when holidays are denounced as an unprofitable interruption of productive industry, and a festival or a fair is condemned as a wasteful expenditure of time and money. It is only, therefore, in regions remote from the reach of the task-master, where exemption from work is occasionally the equal right of all classes of the community, that we may expect to find the red letters of the Calendar significant signs—importing what they designate—public holidays—days on which the artificer and the peasant rest from physical exertion, and spend some passing hours in a kindly communion of idleness with their fellows, in which, if the plough stands still and the anvil is silent, the spirit of social intercourse is kept alive, and man is allowed to feel that he was born for some nobler end than to earn the scanty bread of the pauper, by the unrelaxing labour of the slave.

It is in the remote East, and especially in India, that we may expect to find the living representation of ancient observances, and the still existing solemnizations which delighted the nations of

antiquity, and we shall not be altogether disappointed; although even here they begin to languish under the influence of a foreign government, under the unsympathizing superiority which looks upon the enjoyments of a different race with disdain, under the prevalence of the doctrine which regards public holidays as deductions from public wealth, and under the principles of a system of religious faith which, although it might be indulgent to popular recreations, cannot withhold its disapprobation of them when their objects and origin are connected with falsehood and superstition. From the operation of these causes, the Hindu festivals have already diminished both in frequency and in attraction; and they may become, in the course of time, as little familiar to the people of India as those of European institution are to the nations of the West. They will then, perhaps, become also objects of curiosity and interest; and in anticipation of that period, and in order to secure an account of them whilst it is still possible to learn what they are, I propose to offer to the Society some notices of the religious Fasti of the Hindus and Calendar of their public festivals.

The different celebrations of the Hindus are specified in their Almanacs, and are described at length in different works, such as the Tithi Tatwa, Tithi Kritya, Vratárka, Kála Nirńaya, the Kalpa Druma of Jaya Sinha, and others, and also in passages of several of the Puráńas, particularly in the Bhavishyottara, which, as it usually occurs, treats exclusively of the festivals. The observances are, for the most part, the same in the different provinces of India, but there are some peculiar to peculiar localities; and even those which are universally held, enjoy various degrees of popularity in different places, and are celebrated with various local modifications. The periods also vary within certain limits, according as the lunar month is reckoned to begin from the new moon, or from the full moon; the former mode of computation prevailing in Bengal and in Telingana, whilst in Hindustan and in the Tamil countries of the South the latter is followed. My opportunities of personal observation have been in a great degree limited to Bengal, and for the rest of India I can speak but imperfectly of any existing practices which may not exactly conform to those enjoined by original works, or of which no account has been published by actual observers. One object of communicating these notices to the Society is, therefore, the supplying of this deficiency. Amongst the Members of the Society are many who, in the course of their public services, must have witnessed the celebration of the Hindu festivals in different and distant places: their better knowledge will enable them to furnish correct information respecting

those local peculiarities with which I am unacquainted; and I hope that they may be induced to favour the Society with the results of their experience, and contribute to render the description of the popular festivals of the Hindus as complete and authentic as those who may take an interest in the topic have a right to expect from us.

Upon examining the Fasti of the nations of antiquity, it is obvious that many of their festivals originated either from the same or similar motives. They all bear a religious character, inasmuch as religious worship formed part of the celebration; but that was the spirit of the time. However erroneously directed, the feelings of the multitude in the heathen world associated the powers of heaven, real or imaginary, with all their transactions; but the sources to which I more especially refer, however closely linked with this common sentiment, are in some degree varieties of it: they constitute the species, and are obviously reducible to two principal distinctions, which may be regarded as universal or particular. The universal festivals, which are probably traceable among all nations elevated above barbarism, and which may have been handed down by tradition from the earliest periods in the history of the human race, are manifestly astronomical, and are intended to commemorate the revolutions of the planets, the alternations of the seasons, and the recurrence of cyclical intervals of longer or shorter duration. The particular festivals are those arising out of national forms of religious worship, out of the different mythological creations of priests or poets, or out of imperfect narratives, transmitted orally through succeeding generations, of occurrences anterior to historical record. In as far as these traditions may have related to the great mass of mankind, before it was broken up into detached communities, or as the mythological fictions may typify real personages or events of the same era, or may embody objects likely to be presented to the imaginations of men under similar aspects, we need not be surprised to meet with analogies of deep interest, even in the festivals which are of particular institution. It is, however, in those which relate to the course of time and the phenomena of the planetary sphere that analogies are most likely to occur, and do, in fact, present themselves in the practices of distant and apparently unconnected races.

The coincidences that may be discovered between the universal or particular festivals of the various nations of antiquity, form a subject that well deserves careful and patient investigation. It would, in all probability, tend to confirm the remarkable results which comparative philology has of late so unanswerably demonstrated, and furnish cor-

roborative testimony of that relationship of races, which, however dissimilar now, in physical configuration, social condition, and national character, are proved to be of kindred origin by the unequivocal affinities of language. In like manner as the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celtic, Slavonic, and Sanskrit tongues have been shown to be allied by principles common to them all, so in all probability it would be found that the festivals and holidays which once animated the cities of Athens and Rome, the forests of Germany and the steppes of Russia, are still continuing to afford seasons of public recreation to the dark complexioned tribes that people the borders of the Indus and the Ganges. The full development of these identifications is, however, a work of time and of research exceeding what I can bestow upon it; and I must be content with contributing only that portion of the materials requisite for its investigation which relates to the Fasti of the Hindus, briefly suggesting, as I proceed, one or two of the most obvious points of apparent similarity.

The subject of the Festivals of the Hindu year was introdued to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones, who published a paper on it in the third volume of the Researches. What he thought of the inquiry is evident from the manner in which he speaks of the authority whence his information was derived, and which he calls a wonderfully curious tract of the learned and celebrated Raghunandana. It was no doubt his Tithi Tatwa, a standard text-book, as are all the works of the same author, in Bengal. Sir William Jones, however, has taken from this work only the heads of the descriptions, and omits all the particulars into which it enters, with the exception of a few brief notes; and his details are neither sufficiently full nor interesting to inspire others with the sentiments with which he contemplated the subject. Some years ago I collected materials for its fuller elucidation, and published in one of the Calcutta papers brief notices of the festivals as they occurred; but the notices were merely popular, and were necessarily short and unconnected, and they have never been presented in a collective form. The topic is one, therefore, which, if destitute of other recommendation, possesses, even in these latter days, that of some degree of novelty, and may on this account be further acceptable to the Society.

As remarked by Sir William Jones, although most of the Indian fasts and festivals are regulated by the days of the moon, yet the most solemn and remarkable of them have a manifest reference to the supposed motions of the sun. An attempt is usually made to adjust the one to the other; but the principles on which the adjustment of the solar to the lunar year is based, are of a somewhat complicated character,

and are not essential to a knowledge of the periods at which the festivals are held, and which, with a few exceptions, are sufficiently determinate. They will be specified as we proceed.

UTTARA'YAN'A.—*First of (solar month) Mágha, first lunation dark half or Moon's wane of Pausha or Mágha, 12th-13th of January.*—The Roman poet Ovid, in the opening of his "Fasti," inquires of Janus why the new year is considered to begin in January instead of April, in winter instead of spring; as the latter is the true season of the renovation of nature, when flowers bud, birds carol, and animals rejoice.

> Dic, age, frigoribus quare novus incipit annus,
> Qui melius per ver incipiendus erat—
> Omnia tunc florent: tunc est nova temporis ætas.

The same question seems to have suggested itself to the reformers of the Hindu calendar, and accordingly the new year of the luni-solar computation now in use begins with the first of Chaitra, which falls somewhere in the course of March, and in solar reckoning is said to agree with the entrance of the sun into the sign Mesha, or Aries. There was, however, a period at which a different principle was followed[1], and one that coincides with the peculiarity that puzzled the poet; the new year then commenced on the first of the solar month Mágha, the date of the Makara-Sankránti, or sun's entrance into the sign Capricornus[2], identical with the Uttaráyańa, or return of that luminary to the regions of the North, or, in fact, to the winter solstice; a very important era to the nations north of the equator, amongst whom no doubt were the primitive Hindus, as bringing back to them the genial warmth of the sun and the resuscitation of vegetable life, and deservedly, therefore, held to be the beginning of a new year.

The Uttaráyańa, or winter solstice, although no longer considered as occurring on the first day of the year, and which, even in olden times, as we shall see, was thrown back a fortnight, to the first of the light half of Pausha, retains the veneration attached to it originally as the renovator of animal and vegetable existence, and is one of the great festivals of the Hindus. It commences, as in our own calendars, with

[1] According to Bentley, this was 1181 B.C.

[2] The term Makara denotes an aquatic non-descript animal: the more ancient name of the sign seems to have been Mriga, a deer मृगकर्कटसङ्क्रान्ती द्वे "The two Sankrántis, the deer and the crab."—Tithi Tatwa. The same work explains the application of the term, the type of the constellation having the head, not of a goat, but of a deer मृगो मृगास्यत्वेन मकरः

the entrance of the sun into the sign Capricornus; but, although the astronomical period is the same, the actual dates present a considerable deviation. According to our Ephemerides, the sun enters Capricorn on the 21st of December; according to those of the Hindus, on the 1st of their solar month Mágha; and this, in actual practice, is identified with the 12th of January or thereabouts. I have already observed that the adjustments of the Hindu calendar are very difficult matters to deal with, and an explanation of the difference between the 21st of December and the 12th of January is to be found only in astronomical calculations. Thus Colonel Warren observes, the dates of the equinoctial and solstitial points, as far as they are regulated by the solar and lunar moveable zodiac, are fixed, but their relation to the sidereal zodiac depends upon the precessional variation[1]. For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to know that the essential elements of the celebration are the Makara Sankránti, or sun's entrance into Capricorn; the Uttaráyańa, or commencement of the sun's return to a northern declination; and the actual observance on the 1st of the luni-solar month Mágha falling on the 12th of January, or occasionally a day before or after it.

The observances enjoined on this occasion are partly of a private, partly of a public character. The first consist of offerings to the Pitris, or progenitors, whether general, as of all mankind; or special, as of the family of the worshipper; to the Vástu devas, the Dii Lares, or domestic genii; the guardians of the dwelling, or the site on which it is erected; and to the Viswa devas, or universal gods. The ceremonies addressed to all these are performed within the abode of the householder, and are conducted by the family priest. The principal article of the offering is tila, or sesamum seeds, either separately, or, as is more usual, mixed with molasses, or the saccharine juice of the fruit of the date-tree, and made up into a kind of sweetmeat, called Tilüa. Pishtakas or cakes also are offered, composed of ground rice, mixed with sugar and ghee; whence the festival has the denominations of Tilüa Sankránti and Pishtaka Sankránti, the solar conjunction of the sweetmeat or the cake.

The good things prepared on this occasion are not intended exclusively for those imaginary beings who are unable to eat them. They are presented merely for the purpose of consecration, and that they may be eaten with greater zest by the householder and his family; nor is that all, for a portion of them is sent to friends and relations, as memorials of regard, inclosed in fine linen, silk, or velvet,

[1] Kála Sankalitá, p. 4, note.

according to the means of the presenter, and the station of those to whom they are presented.

In many places in Bengal a curious practice is observed, called Báwanni bandhana, particularly by the females of the family. In the evening, one of the women takes a wisp of straw, and from the bundle picks out separate straws, which she ties singly to every article of furniture in the house, exclaiming "Báwanni pauti," implying, may the measure of corn be increased fifty-two fold,—pauti denoting a measure of grain. In the villages similar straws are attached to the Golas, or thatched granaries, in which the grain of the preceding harvest has been stored.

Besides these private ceremonies, which expressively typify the feelings of satisfaction with which the re-approach of the sun was hailed by a people to whom the principal phenomena of the heavens were familiar, there are also public celebrations of the same event, expressing similar sentiments, but deriving a more local and peculiar complexion from the physical circumstances of the country, and the superstitions of its inhabitants.

According to the Kalpa Druma of Jayasinha, upon the authority of the Padma Puráńa, the whole month of Mágha is especially consecrated to Vishńu, to whom and to the Sun also prayers should be daily addressed, and offerings or arghyas presented. The introduction of Vishńu is a modern interpolation[1]. The same work prescribes daily bathing before sunrise. The Bhavishyottara also directs daily bathing in Mágha, with mantras or prayers by the three first classes, silently by Súdras and women, and affirms that the practice is enjoined by the Vedas, a rather questionable assertion. The same may be said of the Vaishńava formulæ, given by Raghunandana; according to whom the person performing his ablutions is to invoke various personifications of Vishńu. Thus the Sankalpa, or previous prayer, is, "By this bathing, when the sun is in Makara, be thou, oh Mágha, oh Govinda, oh Achyuta, oh Mádhava, oh God, the giver of the promised reward to me." He is then to bathe, calling to mind Vásudeva, Hari, Krishńa, Srídhara, and to say, "Salutation be to thee, oh Sun, lord of the world, giver of light, do thou make perfect this great worship, this bathing in Mágha."

Whatever may be the date of this mixture of tenets, the ablution is no doubt an ancient portion of the rite. Bathing in sacred streams constitutes an indispensable part of most of the ceremonial observances

[1] The ablution is to be preceded by a fast and followed by a feast and gifts to Brahmans. पूर्व्वे व्रतादिकं कुर्य्यात् परेद्युः स्नानदानयोः Tithi T.

of the Hindus; and whêre such rivers are not within access, their place is supplied by other pieces of water of less lofty pretensions; a dirty puddle may take the place of the holy Gangá. At the winter solstice, bathing at the confluence of the Ganges with the ocean is particularly meritorious, and accordingly a vast concourse of people is annually assembled at Ganga Ságar, or the mouth of the Hugli branch of the Ganges, at the period of the Makara Sankránti, agreeably to the limitations above assigned to it; that is, its identification with the 1st of Mágha or the 12th of January. Wherever such assemblages take place, objects of a secular nature are now, as they have ever been, blended with those of devotion; and the Mela, which originates in purposes of pilgrimage, becomes equally or in a still greater degree a meeting of itinerant merchants, or a fair.

The number of persons who assemble at Ganga Ságar is variously estimated. Some years ago they were considered to average about one hundred thousand; but I have been informed by high authority that latterly the number has increased to double that amount. They come from all parts of India, the larger proportion, of course, from the contiguous provinces of Bengal and Orissa; but there are many from the Dekhin and from Hindustan, and even from Nepal and the Panjáb. They are of both sexes and of all ages; many come with small pedlery for petty traffic; many from idleness or a propensity to a vagrant life, not uncommon in India; and there is a very large proportion of religious mendicants of all sects. The Saivas usually predominate.

The place at which the Mela is held is, or perhaps it were more safe to say, was, some years ago, a sand bank, on the southern shore of the island of Ságar, immediately to the west of the inlet called Pagoda Creek, from a small pagoda or temple, also on the west of the creek, nearer to the sea than the bank of sand, and separated from the latter by a smaller creek running inland. South from this to the sea-shore, extended a thick jungle, with a pathway leading into the interior, where was a large tank for the supply of the people with fresh water. Tigers lurked in the jungle, and not unfrequently carried off the pilgrims. Along the sea-side, for more than a mile, extended rows of booths, shops, and small temporary temples, with the travelling gods of the religious mendicants, who received the adoration and contributions of the pious. Besides the numerous shops for the supply of provisions and sweetmeats, a brisk traffic was carried on in small wares, especially in betel-nuts, black pepper, and the red powder that is scattered about at the vernal festival of the Huli. A Pandit in my employ, who had visited the Mela, asserted that an impost was levied by the custom officers of Government, of four anas per oar on each boat;

but no such charge appears to have been authorized, except in the case of the Ságar Island Society, who were permitted to make some such charge in consideration of the clearings and tanks made by them. The mendicants, however, petitioned against this privilege, and it was withdrawn from the Society. The petition was not disinterested, as the Sanyásis claimed a right to levy the charge on their own account; a practice that seems to have grown up from long use, and to have been silently acquiesced in by the pilgrims. The total amount was inconsiderable, having been farmed by a native contractor from the Society, whilst in their possession, for 1200 rupees in the first year, and 2000 in the second.

The Mela lasts several days, but three days are the limit of the religious festival. The first ceremony is the propitiation of the ocean, by casting into it various offerings, with short ejaculatory prayers; the oblations are commonly cocoa-nuts, fruits, or flowers; the most appropriate gift is that of the five gems, Pancha ratna, consisting of a pearl or diamond, an emerald, a topaz, and a piece of coral, along with a cocoa-nut, an areca-nut, and the thread worn by Brahmans. These are wrapped up in a cloth, and cast into the branch of the river which communicates with the sea, at a place called Dhola Samudra, and also at the confluence. The jewels are, in general, of the smaller size, not worth more than a rupee or two. There was a time when the offerings were of a less innocent description, and children were cast into the sea. This horrible and unnatural practice was wholly unsanctioned by anything in the Hindu ritual; and its suppression, by the Government of Bengal, had the cordial concurrence of the Brahmans. The act was not, like the oblation of fruits or jewels, intended to obtain the favour of the deified ocean, but in satisfaction of a vow; as where a woman had been childless, she made a vow to offer her first-born at Gangá Ságar, or some other holy place, in the confidence that such an offering would secure for her additional progeny. The belief is not without a parallel in the history of antiquity, sacred or profane, but it was the spontaneous growth of ignorance and superstition, not only unprompted, but condemned by the Hindu religion, and was confined to the lowest orders of the people. It will easily be credited, that the occurrence was rare, and that no attempt has ever been made to infringe the prohibition.

On the first day, bathing in the sea is to be performed; it takes place early in the morning, and is repeated by some at noon; some also have their heads shaved after bathing; and many of those whose parents are recently deceased celebrate their Sráddha, or obsequial ceremonies on the sea-shore. After ablution, the pilgrims repair to

the temple, which is dedicated to a Muni, or divine sage, an incarnation of Vishńu, named Kapila. Vishńu became incarnate in his person for the destruction of the sixty thousand wicked sons of King Sagara. He is said to have stationed himself at this place, which was then upon the brink of a vast chasm, leading to the infernal regions. When the sons of the king, who were in search of a horse intended for the solemn sacrifice of the Aswamedha, arrived here, they found the Muni absorbed apparently in meditation, while the steed was grazing near him. Accusing him of having stolen it, they approached to kill him, when fire flashed from his eyes, and instantly reduced the whole troop to ashes. In order to expiate their crime, purify their remains, and secure paradise for their spirits, Bhagíratha, the great-grandson of Sagara, brought down by the force of his austerities, the Ganges from heaven; and led her from the Himalaya, where she had alighted, to this spot. The sons of Sagara were sanctified, and the waters of the river, flowing into the chasm, formed the ocean. The Ganges is called Bhágírathí, from King Bhagíratha; and the sea is termed Ságara, after his great grandsire. The legend is told, in its most ancient and authentic shape, in the Rámáyańa.

The temple of Kapila is under the alternate charge of a Bairági and Sanyási, mendicants of the Vaishnava and Saiva sects; the latter presides at the Mela held at this place in the month Kártik, the former at the Mela of Mágha. They exact a fee of four anas from each person who comes to the temple. The aggregate collection of Mágha was divided amongst five different establishments of mendicants of the Rámánandi order, in the vicinity of Calcutta. In front of the temple was a Bur tree, beneath which were images of Ráma and Hanumán; and an image of Kapila, of the size nearly of life, was within the temple. The pilgims commonly write their names on the walls of the temple, with a short prayer to Kapila; or suspend a piece of earth or brick to a bough of the tree, with some solicitation, as for health, or affluence, or offspring; and promise, if their prayers are granted, to make a gift to some divinity.

Behind the temple was a small excavation termed Sítá kund, filled with fresh water, of which the pilgrim was allowed to sip a small quantity, on paying a fee to the mahant or head manager of the temple. This reservoir was probably filled from the tank, and kept full by the contrivances of the mendicants, who persuaded the people that it was a perpetual miracle, being constantly full for the use of the temple.

On the second and third days of the assemblage, bathing in the sea, adoration of Gangá, and the worship of Kapila, continue as on

the first; after which the meeting breaks up. During the whole time the pilgrims, for the most part, sleep on the sand; for it is considered unbecoming to sleep on board their boats.

This is the great public celebration of the recurrence of the winter solstice in Upper India. In the south there is an equally popular commemoration of the same event, but of which the ceremonies are peculiar, consisting principally of marks of public reverence for cattle, but comprehending also the preparation and distribution of food; whence, indeed, its appropriate appellation, in the Tamil language, Pongol, which, according to native authority, Tiruvakádu Mutia, signifies literally boiled rice, and metaphorically, prosperity or rejoicing[1]. The word is therefore another denomination of the festival of the Makara Sankránti, or sun's entrance into Capricorn; or, in the words of the same writer, the first day of the Indian January, corresponding, agreeably to the mode of computation followed in the Dekhin, with the 1st of Tye or Taishya, the Paushya of Hindustan, which, (as in the latter,) falls about the 12th of January. The following particulars of the festival are from a paper, published in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1807, by the intelligent native already named, Tiruvakádu Mutia.

"On the day on which the sun enters Capricorn, which is the beginning of the auspicious period of the Uttaráyańa, the Hindus offer libations of water, mixed with tila and kusa, or sesamum seeds and sacred grass, to the manes of their ancestors. They then boil rice with milk and sugar; and when they see it bubble up, they cry aloud 'Pongal, O pongal!' meaning, Let the world be prosperous and rejoice. The boiled rice, along with esculent fruits, is offered to the sun, invoking him for the general good, and the production of abundance. Early the next morning, the husbandmen sprinkle water upon corn sown or grown in fields, crying aloud, 'Pongal, pongal!' meaning, Let the corn grow in plenty, by the grace of the glorious sun, who has begun his northern course (the Uttaráyańa), which is a day of the gods. At noon rice and milk are again boiled, and are presented to Indra, praying him to bestow abundant rain, and by thus favouring pasture, cause cattle to increase and multiply. In the afternoon, cows and bulls are washed, and fed with part of an oblation first offered to Indra; and being also painted and adorned with leafy and flowery chaplets, are brought in herds, attended by bands of music, to the public place of the village; there the cow-keepers dress victuals, and

[1] Pongali, according to Rottler, Tam. Dict., means "a bubbling up;" in Telugu, it denotes a dish of rice mixed with boiled milk and sugar and other articles.—Campbell, Tel. Dict.

provide fresh perfumes and flowers, wherewith to decorate their animals; and sprinkle saffron water with mango leaves upon them, as a preservative from evil, crying aloud, 'Pongal, pongal!' meaning, Let cattle be cherished and multiplied, by the grace of Indra, as well as of Gopála (or Krishńa the cow-herd). Then the Hindus, with joined hands, are to walk round the cows and bulls, and particularly round the Brahmans, and to prostrate themselves before them. This done, the cow-keepers, with their herds of kine and oxen, return home to their several houses[1]. Hence this day is termed Matu Pongal; that is, the feast of cattle."

"So the day of the Makara Sankránti, or Perum Pongol, is dedicated to the sun, and the day of Matu Pongol to Indra; they are both comprised in the term Pongol, which is an anniversary festival of a week's duration. During this term the Hindus visit and compliment each other, wishing a happy pongal or many returns of it. Sons and daughters prostrate themselves before their parents, servants before their masters, disciples before their teachers. Some people give alms to the poor, some make presents to their friends and relations, some sport and amuse themselves with diversions of different kinds. This ceremony is said to be a practice of very ancient standing, which the former kings of Madura, of the Páńdya dynasty, introduced upon the authority of the Sástras and Puráńas[2]."

There can be no doubt that the remark of Mutiá, that the observance of the Uttaráyańa is a practice of high antiquity, is perfectly true; and there can be equally little doubt that it was of like univer-

[1] The Abbé Dubois adds the following particulars of this part of the ceremony. "On peint de diverses couleurs les cornes des vaches et on leur met au cou une guirlande de feuillages verts entremêlés de fleurs à laquelle on suspend des gateaux, des cocos, et autres fruits, qui se détachant bientôt par le mouvement de ces animaux sont ramassés et mangés avec empressement par ceux qui les suivent. Après avoir conduit les vaches en troupe hors de la ville ou du village, on les force à s'enfuir de coté et d'autre en les effarouchant par le bruit confus d'un grand nombre de tambours et d'instrumens bruyans. Ce jour là ces bêtes peuvent paître par tout sans gardien, et quelques dégats qu'elles fassent dans les champs où elles se jettent, il n'est pas permis de les en chasser."—II., 337.

[2] This authority acknowledges, therefore, a principal festival of but two days, but we have that of the Madras calendar for three; the first being called the Bhoga Pándikei, the second the Pongal, and the third the Matu (or cattle) Pongal. So the Abbé Dubois, "La fête dure trois jours;" the first of which is called Bhoga Pongal (pongol de la joie, from Bhoga, enjoyment), the second Surya Pongal (pongol du soleil), and the third the Pongol des vaches.—2, 335. In Rottler's Tamil Dict. we have the three days; the first Pongi-pandikei, dedicated, it is said, to Indra; the second Perum pongol, sacred to the sun; and the third the Mátu pongol, sacred to Krishn'a.

sality amongst, at least, the Indo-Teutonic races. The analogies are so obvious, that they must instantly occur to every one's mind; and the offerings and distribution of food and sweetmeats and presents, the sports and the rejoicing, and the interchange of mutual good wishes, which characterize the Uttaráyaňa amongst the Hindus, are even yet, though to a less extent than heretofore, retained by Christian nations at the same season; beginning with the plum-puddings and mince-pies of Christmas, passing through the new year's gifts and happy new years; the strenæ of the Romans, quæ omnia simul strenas appellarunt; and terminating with Twelfth-night. Whatever modifications these types of rejoicing may have undergone, and however changed in their present purport, by their connexion with our religious faith, they are evidently of the same general character as the observances of the Hindus; and designate the commencement of a period, in which the northern hemisphere is again to be gladdened, by the proximity of the fountain of light and heat.

In looking for the more striking points of coincidence between the observances of the East and West at this particular season, it is not necessary to be restricted to dates, beyond approximate limits. Our own calendar has been subjected to different reforms, which have, even within a recent term, advanced, by twelve days, the enumeration of the days of the month; and alterations of an astronomical nature have also been alluded to, which may perhaps explain further deviations in this respect. The main point of agreement is unaffected. It is not the recurrence of any precise day of the week or month that constitutes the occasion of the celebration; it is the recurrence of the commencement of the sun's northward course, the Uttaráyaňa, or winter solstice, from which all the manifestations of gladness derive their origin; and whether this be fixed accurately or inaccurately—whether the period at which the phenomenon was first noticed has in the course of ages undergone a change—is immaterial. Little doubt can be entertained that the same event gave rise to the same feelings; and that they have been expressed by actions, varying in form, but not in spirit, by very distant nations, through a very long succession of the generations of mankind.

It has already been seen that the Romans connected the beginning of the year with the sun's entrance into Capricorn, and that they then celebrated the renovation of nature. Their mode of celebrating it seems to have had many things in common with the usages of the Hindus, particularly in the interchange of sweetmeats; only substituting for the rice, cakes, and molasses of the Hindus, figs, dates, and

honey. These articles they sent, at this season, to their friends and relations: they were intended, according to Janus, to be ominous of an agreeable year to follow.

Omen ait, causa est ut res sapor ille sequatur,
Et peragat cœptum dulcis ut annus iter.

They also interchanged læta verba, good wishes and congratulations;—et damus alternas accipimusque preces. The presents made at this season were called strenæ; and the word, as well as the practice, subsists in the Etrennes of new year's day in France. Strenam vocamus quæ datur die religioso ominis boni gratiâ. According to Festus, the practice is referred by Symmachus to an early period of Roman history, the reign of Tatius; but it was no doubt much older. How far it prevailed among the Greeks does not fully appear. The Greeks had a festival in the month Poseideôn, or January, in which they worshipped Neptune, or the Sea, in like manner as the Hindus worship the ocean; but no other particulars are recorded; and it is remarkable how little of the Greek calendar is of an astronomical origin. It is almost entirely legendary and mythological, arguing a people shut up by themselves in very ancient times, and comparatively late in their observations of planetary phenomena. However, it would seem that the sending of good things to one another was not limited to the Romans, as it is said that the Fathers of the Church rigorously condemned the observances of this season, not because of the exchange of civil missives and mutual pledges of regard, but because of the idolatrous worship. "In calendas Januarii antiqui patres vehementius invehebantur, non propter istas missitationes adinvicem et mutui amoris pignora, sed propter diem idolis dicatum."—Montacut. Orig. Eccles. pars prior, p. 128. As the "Fathers" are named so generally, it may be inferred that the observances which they condemned were known wherever the primitive church was established.

The Christmas and new year's festivities which have left traces amongst the Teutonic nations, were tranferred to them from their German forefathers, in the time of Paganism. Thus Bede observes of the Anglo-Saxons, "they began their year on the eighth of the calends of January, which is now our Christmas-day." So the yule clog, log or block, which was burnt on the eve of Christmas-day, is considered to have been used as an emblem of the return of the sun, and the lengthening of the days; for according to Bede, both December and January were denominated Giuli or Yule, upon account of the sun's returning and augmenting the duration of the days: "December Giuli—eodem quo Januarius nomine vocatur. Giuli a conversione solis in auctum diei nomen accepit."—Beda de Ratione Temporum. Again,

Bishop Stillingfleet states, in his Origines Britannicæ, "that the ancient Saxons observed twelve days at this period, and sacrificed to the sun." And Mallet states, "that all the Celtic nations worshipped the sun, and celebrated his festival at the winter solstice, to testify their joy at his return to the northern sky. This was the greatest solemnity in the year."—North. Ant. 2, 68. Identifications too palpable to be denied, with the Uttaráyaňa of the Hindus, and the worship by them also of the sun, at the same season, and on the same account. A like analogy may be suspected in the Yule dough, or cakes of flour and water, which, after the introduction of Christianity, were kneaded into little images; but were originally, in all probability, nothing more than the rice cakes of the Hindus. The extension of the period of festivity, so as to include the new year, brings us also to the interchange of presents and good wishes which, amongst the Saxons, as well as the Romans and Hindus, was thought peculiarly appropriate at this season.

Mention is made by Mr. Brand, to whose work on Popular Antiquities I am indebted for most of the preceding statements, that it was enjoined in the ancient Calendar of the Roman church, to present on Christmas eve, sweetmeats to the Fathers, "In Vaticano dulcia patribus exhibentur." Of course the Fathers of the Christian church are intended; but it is scarcely possible to avoid a suspicion that something was originally meant, that the practice was, in fact, a relique of heathenism, and that the "Fathers" were in their primitive character, the Dii Manes of the Romans, the Pitris of the Hindus.

Whatever may be thought of this coincidence, there can scarcely be a doubt that we have some community of origin between the Pongal and the blessing of the cattle at Rome, on the day dedicated to St. Anthony. According to the legend, the Saint once tended a herd of swine, and hence possibly his connexion with other animals. A much more intelligible relation subsists between them and the Hindu Indra, or Jupiter pluvius, as provender is plentiful and nutritive in proportion as rain is abundant. The following account of this ceremony is taken from "Rome in the Nineteenth Century," and it will be observed that the time of the year, the decorating of the cattle, the bringing them to a public place, the sprinkling of them with holy water, and the very purport of the blessing, that they may be exempt from evils, are so decidedly Indian, that could a Drávira Brahman be set down of a sudden in the Piazza, before St. Mary's church at Rome, and were asked what ceremony he witnessed, there can be no doubt of his answer; he would at once declare they were celebrating the Pongal.

"*January* 18*th*, 1819.—We were present to-day at one of the most ridiculous scenes I ever witnessed, even in this country. It was St. Anthony's blessing of the horses, which begins on that Saint's day and lasts for a week. We drove to the church of the Saint, near the Santa Maria Maggiore, and could scarcely make our way through the streets, from the multitudes of horses, mules, asses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and dogs, which were journeying along to the place of benediction; their heads, tails, and necks decorated with bits of coloured ribbon, on this their unconscious gala-day. The Saint's benediction, though nominally confined to horses, is equally efficacious and equally bestowed upon all quadrupeds. The priest stood at the door of the church, holding a brush in his hand, which he continually dipped into a large bucket of holy water, and spirted at the animals as they came in unremitting succession, taking off his little skull cap and muttering every time, 'Per intercessionem Sancti Antonii abbatis hæc animalia liberantur a malis.' "

There can be no doubt that this ceremony is much older than St. Anthony, and it probably is a relique of the Latin village festival of the Paganalia or the Feriæ Sementinæ, which took place about the middle of January, when, after the seed had been sown, the ploughs were laid up in ordinary, and the cattle were decorated with garlands.

——— nunc ad præsepia debent,
Plena coronato stare boves capite.—Tib. lib. xi., El. i., l. 8.

A palpable relique of which rite is also traceable in the Plough Monday of our calendar (13th January), and the games with which it was celebrated.

The long course of ages which has elapsed has necessarily impaired the evidence of a perfect concordance between the ceremonies with which the nations of antiquity commemorated the sun's northern journey; yet no reasonable doubt can be entertained that they did agree in celebrating that event with practices, if not precisely the same, yet of a very similar character; and that traces of such conformity are still to be discovered in the unaltered ritual of the Hindus, and the popular, though ill-understood and fast-expiring practices of the Christian world,—affording a curious and interesting proof of the permanency of those institutions which have their foundation in the immutable laws of nature, and in the common feelings of mankind.

The important character of the Uttaráyaṅa festival, and the remarkable analogies which, whether indisputable or not, it unavoidably suggests, have led to a more copious detail, perhaps, than the subject deserves. It is only, however, in such cases that prolixity will admit of apology. The greater number of the festivals will receive

briefer notices in proportion as they are more or less of a purely local description, and of inferior interest.

MA'NSA'SHT'AKA.—*Eighth lunar day of the dark half of the lunar month Mágha, about the 20th of January*[1].—The denomination of this day defines its occurrence, ashtaka, meaning eighth; it also indicates its purport, mánsa signifying flesh. Accordingly, on this day, the Sráddha, or obsequial offerings of flesh, should be made to the pitris or manes. According to the Pauráńik authorities[2], there are three days of this nature, in the months severally of Agraháyańa, Mágha, and Phálguna; which is also the specification of Gobhila, as quoted by Raghunandana; but according to the Mitákshará, there are four such ashtakas in the course of the year; there being one on the eighth of the moon's wane of each of the two months of the two seasons of Hemanta and śiśira or the four winter months, when śráddhas are positively enjoined (nitya[3]). The former authorities direct that different offerings shall be made on the three days, or severally, cakes, flesh, and vegetables, as will be noticed. The institution appears to have been part of the ancient ritual, and to have fallen into comparative neglect. The Brahmans of Upper India, who maintain a perpetual fire, and are thence called Agnihotras, are said to observe the Mánsáshtaka; so do the orthodox Saivas and Sáktas, and the disciples of Raghunandana in Bengal; but it is usual to substitute cakes of boiled rice flour[4], mixed with milk and sugar for the meat which was anciently presented, not only at the Ashtaka śráddhas, but, as Manu enjoins, at the periodical śráddhas in general. "Let the Brahman who maintains a household fire, who has performed the funeral ceremonies of his own family, repeat the subsequent general śráddha at the conjunction of the moon every month. The wise have called the monthly śráddhas the subsequent, or periodical śráddha, and that is to be offered diligently with excellent flesh." (B. III. 122, 123.) The time is specified in the Mitákshará, upon the authority of an ancient lawgiver, Aśwaláyana. The flesh should be that of a goat or a deer, King Ikshwáku having commanded a large deer to be brought to him for the śráddha at the Ashtaka[5].

[1] The specification of the date is to be understood as applicable to Bengal, and even there it is subject to occasional variation.

[2] The Vishnu Puran'a specifies three altogether—Aghan, Mágha, and Phálguna. Raghunandana quotes the Brahma P. for the same.

[3] अष्टकाः चतस्रः हेमन्तशिशिरयोश्चतुर्णामपरपक्षाणामष्टमीषु अष्टका इत्याश्वलायनोक्ताः Mitákshará, 33; I. 16.

[4] Boiled in a pot, sthálípáka, as Gobhila says, अपि वा स्थालीपाकं कुर्वीत

[5] इक्ष्वाकुस्तु विकुक्षिं वै अष्टकायामथादिशत् ।
मांसमानय श्राद्धाय मृगं हत्वा महाबलं ॥

RAT'ANTI CHATURDAŚÍ.—*Fourteenth lunar day of the dark half of Mágha, (26th January.)*—In Sir William Jones's description of this festival, he merely explains it by the sentence, "The waters speak," the word "ratanti," meaning "they speak;" being the first part of an ancient text importing, "The waters say, We purify the sinner who bathes in the month of Mágha, when the sun is scarcely risen, although he be a chanďála, or the killer of a Brahman[1]." Accordingly the essential rite on this day is bathing in some sacred stream or piece of water; which should be performed before dawn, whilst the stars are yet visible. As in many parts of India the temperature of the atmosphere is at this season almost cold, bathing at such an hour in the open air may easily be conceived to be no trifling penance. Offerings should also be presented on this occasion to Yama, the judge of the lower regions; for he who worships Yama at this period, it is said, shall not see death. Besides the usual libations of water to deceased progenitors, a śráddha should be celebrated, and Brahmans and the family should be fed with rice mixed with pulse, accompanied by a particular Mantra[2].

These appear to be the ancient directions for a religious rite on the 14th of the dark half of the Mágha; but later days have changed both its time and object. According to the present practice, in Bengal at least, ablution is performed, not before sunrise, but after sunset; and instead of Yama one of the terrific forms of Deví is worshipped, Muńďamáliní, she with the chaplet of skulls, or Syámá, the black goddess; particularly when any cause has prevented the adoration of the latter in the month of Kártik. The authority for this modification of the ceremony is that of the Tantras; and, except by the Sáktas, is not held in much estimation. The day is little observed anywhere.

VARADA' CHATURTHÍ.—*Fourth lunar day of the light half of Mágha (30th January—1st February.)*—According to some of the authorities[3] followed in Hindustan, Siva is to be worshipped on

[1] Harivansa, as cited by Raghunandana. The text, as quoted by Raghunandana, is—

माघे मासि रटन्त्यापः किञ्चिदभ्युदिते रवौ ।
ब्रह्मघ्नमपि चाण्डालं के पतन्तं पुनीमहे ॥

[2] As in the Nirnayámrita, from the Brahma Purán'a. माघकृष्णचतुर्दश्यां पितॄणोद्दिश्यान्नदीप्यादिना विभज्य बन्धुभ्यः कृशरं भोजयेत् स्वयम् । The Kalpa Tatwa has ब्राह्मणेभ्यः कृशरान्नं भोजनं दत्वा

[3] Hemádri, Nirnayámrita, Padma Purán'a.

this day in the evening, with offerings of jasmine flowers, whence it is also called Kuńda Chaturthí; but the more usual designation Varadá Chaturthí, implies a goddess, the giver of boons, who in some of the Puráńas is identified with Gaurí, or more especially with Umá, the bride of Siva. She is on this day to be worshipped with offerings of flowers, of incense, or of lights, with platters of sugar and ginger, or milk or salt, with scarlet or saffron-tinted strings and golden bracelets. She is to be worshipped by both sexes, but especially by women; and women themselves, not being widows, are also to be treated with peculiar homage. In the Deví Puráńa it is enjoined, that various kinds of grain, and condiments, and confections, and plates made of baked clay, should be given on this day by maidens to the goddess. The due observance of the rite is said to secure a flourishing progeny. The worship of Gaurí, at this season, seems to be popular in the South of India, as the Calendar specifies the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of Mágha to be equally consecrated to her. In Bengal little regard is paid to this celebration, although worship is sometimes offered to Umá, on behalf of unmarried females, in reference to the means adopted by Gaurí or Umá, whilst yet a maiden, to propitiate Siva, and obtain him for her husband[1]. This last circumstance renders it not unlikely, that the epithet Varadá ought to be differently interpreted, and that it means the giver of a husband, a bridegroom being one sense of Vara, and the part which is assigned in it to unmarried girls, the presents to be made by and to them—the offerings to be made for them—and the reward of the rite—a family of children, leave little doubt of the correctness of the interpretation. Now this festival, it is to be observed, occurs in the last days of January or beginning of February, and is not far from that time, when "quisque sibi sociam jam legit ales avem." What St. Valentine had to do with the choosing of mates has perplexed antiquaries; the interposition of Umá, in the selection of a bride or bridegroom, is more intelligible, as she may well be disposed to encourage that of which she set the example. The Romish Church, however, furnishes us with a somewhat nearer approximation in the festival of St. Agnes, which occurs on the 21st January, for on the eve of her day, many kinds of divination are practised by virgins to discover their future husbands. Although the festival is accounted for by a legend of the martyrdom and canonization of the virgin Agnes, it is not impossibly a relict of Paganism, like St. Valentine's day, which has been supposed to derive its origin from the

[1] See Sir Wm. Jones's Ode to Bhavání; also translation of Kumára Sambhava, by Dr. Mill, Journal As. S. B., Vol. II., p. 329.

Roman Lupercalia. These festivals may possibly, however, be merely an ill-understood record of ancient usages with regard to seasons of the year when marriages were most suitably solemnized. This seems to be indicated by the Hindu worship of Varadá, although, even amongst them, the precise import of the festival is forgotten.

That this season was considered propitious for marriages amongst the Greeks, is evident, from the name of the month corresponding with January-February, Γαμηλιών, from marriages (γαμός) being frequently celebrated in it; and what is very curious, although very possibly no more than an accidental coincidence, the fourth from the new moon—the Hindu Chaturthí—is especially recommended by Hesiod: 'Εν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθαι ἐς οἶκον ἄκοιτιν· "Let him (the bridegroom) take home his bride on the fourth of the moon."

Srí Panchamí.—*Fifth lunar day of the light half of the month Mágha (2nd February.)* The designation Srí indicates the bride of Vishńu, the goddess of prosperity and abundance; and the text quoted from the Samvatsara Pradípa, in the Tithi Tatwa, confirms the identification by stating, that upon this day, Lakshmí, the Goddess of Fortune, (who is also the bride of Vishńu,) is to be worshipped with flowers, perfumes, food, and water: probably the day was originally dedicated to her. The same text, however, proceeds to direct, that pens, and nk, and books, should be reverenced upon this day; and that a festival should be observed in honour of Saraswatí, the goddess of learning—hence it is inferred, that by Srí, in the first part of the rubric, Saraswatí also is intended, especially as Srí has various significations, one of which may be Saraswatí.

Saraswatí, by the standard mythological authorities, is the wife of Brahmá, and the goddess presiding over letters and arts. The Vaishnavas of Bengal have a popular legend, that she was the wife of Vishńu, as were also Lakshmí and Gangá. The ladies disagreed, Saraswatí, like the other prototype of learned ladies, Minerva, being something of a termagant, and Vishńu, finding that one wife was as much as even a god could manage, transferred Saraswatí to Brahmá, and Gangá to Siva, and contented himself with Lakshmí alone. It is worthy of remark, that Saraswatí is represented as of a white colour, without any superfluity of limbs, and not unfrequently of a graceful figure wearing a slender crescent on her brow, and sitting on a lotus.

On the morning of the fifth lunar day of Mágha, the whole of the pens and inkstands, and the books, if not too numerous and bulky, are collected—the pens, or reeds, cleaned, the inkstands scoured, and the

books, wrapped up in new cloth, are arranged upon a platform or a sheet, and are strewn over with flowers and blades of young barley; no flowers except white are to be offered. Sometimes these are the sole objects of adoration; but an image of Saraswatí stands, in general, immediately behind them; or, in place of the image, a water-jar; a not uncommon, although a curious substitute for a god or a goddess, amongst the Hindus.

After performing the necessary rites of ablution, Saraswatí is to be meditated upon, and invited to the place of worship, with some such mental prayer as the following: "May the glorious goddess of speech, she who is of a white complexion and graceful figure, wearing a digit of the moon upon her brow, and carrying an inkstand and a pen in her lotus-like hands,—may, she, sitting on her lotus throne, be present for our protection[1], and for the attainment of honours and wealth." Water is then to be offered for the washing of her feet; food for her refreshment; flowers, or more costly articles, as pearls and jewels, for her decoration; and three salutations are to be made to her with the mantra, "Reverence to Saraswatí, reverence to Bhadrakálí, reverence to the Vedas, to the Vedángas, to the Vedánta, and to all seats of learning[2]." Of other mantras addressed to her, the following are given in the Matsya Puráńa: "As Brahmá, the great father of all, never, oh, Saraswatí! lives without thee, so do thou ever be my benefactress." Or, "As the Vedas and all inspired writings, as all the sciences and the arts, are never, oh, goddess! independent of thee; so, by thy favour, may my wishes be fulfilled. "In the forms of thy eight impersonations, Lakshmí, Medhá, Dhavá, Pushtí, Gaurí, Tushti, Prabhá, and Dhriti, do thou, oh, Saraswatí! be ever my protectress."

At the end of the ceremony, all the members of the family assemble and make their prostrations—the books, the pens, and ink, having an entire holiday; and should any emergency require a written communication on the day dedicated to the divinity of scholarship, it is done with chalk or charcoal upon a black or white board.

After the morning ceremony, the boys and young men repair to the country for amusement and sport, and some of these games are of a very European character, as bat and ball, and a kind of prisoner's base. School-boys also used to consider themselves privileged, on this day, to rob the fields and gardens of the villages, but this privilege was stoutly opposed, and was all but extinct some years ago. In the evening there are entertainments according to the means of the parties.

[1] Sárada Tilaka. Sir W. Jones translates this prayer somewhat differently.

[2] Brahma Purán'a.

The regular celebration of this festival here terminates, but of late years a supplementary observance forms a plea for a second day's holiday in Bengal. The Bengalis have a great passion for throwing the temporary images of their female divinities into the Ganges. It is a rite especially appropriate to Durgá, at the end of the Durgá Pújá; but it has been extended to other goddesses, and amongst them, to Saraswatí, at this season. Accordingly, on the sixth lunar day, the image, which is commonly of plastic clay painted, is conveyed in procession to the river side, stripped of its ornaments, and tossed rather unceremoniously into the stream.

There are some remarkable varieties regarding the seasons of this festival in different parts of India, whether it be considered as dedicated to Saraswatí or to Lakshmí. The Srí panchamí, when applied to the former, is observed in Hindustan in Aswin (August-September), and when to the latter, in Márgaśírsha (October-November), as we shall have future occasion to notice, or the present, the fifth of Mágha, is held to be the proper Srí panchamí, and dedicated, not to Saraswatí, but to Lakshmí. There is, however, both in Upper India and in the Dekhin, a festival on the fifth of the light half of Mágha, which is no doubt the original and ancient celebration,—the Vasanta Panchamí, or the vernal feast of the fifth lunar day of Mágha, marking the commencement of the season of Spring, and corresponding, curiously enough, with the specific date fixed for the beginning of Spring in the Roman calendar, the fifth of the ides of February.

> Quintus ab æquoreis nitidum jubar extulit annis,
> Lucifer, et primi tempora veris eunt.—Ovid, II., 149, 150.

After the Vasanta Panchamí, Káma the god of love, and his bride Ratí, pleasure, are to be worshipped with offerings of fruits and flowers[1]. In general observance, however, Vishńu and Lakshmí now take their places, as there are no temples to Káṃadeva; nor indeed are the celebrations, which probably once occurred at this season, very particularly observed. The day is retained in the calendars, and constitutes a nominal fixed point, from which festivals, which become conspicuous enough a few weeks afterwards, are still said to commence.

[1] Ratí is personified as a young and beautiful female, richly attired and decorated, dancing and playing on the Víná; and Káma is represented as a youth with eight arms, attended by four nymphs,—Pleasure, Affection, Passion, and Power,—bearing the shell, the lotus, a bow and five arrows, and a banner with the Makara,—a figure composed of a goat and a fish, or, as before mentioned, the sign Capricorn.

Sítalá' Shasht'hí.—*Sixth lunar day of the light half of Mágha (3rd of February.)*—This ceremony is of a strictly private character, and is limited to married women who have children. The object is, in the present day, especially to protect them from the small-pox. The observance, however, seems to have had originally no such specific application, but to have been intended to secure, generally, the healthiness of infants, by the propitiation of a goddess, termed, apparently at the original institution of this rite, Shashthí, but now more commonly Sítalá. According to the legend, the ceremony was instituted by King Priyavrata, in gratitude to Shashthí, for restoring his dead son, Suvrata, to life[1]. It should be celebrated on the sixth day of the light fortnight in every month, but this frequent repetition of it has fallen into disuse. Shashthí is said to be so named because she is a sixth part of the goddess Prakriti, but she evidently derives her name from the day of the fortnight of which she is a personification. She is the daughter of Brahmá, and wife of Kártikeya, the general of the hosts of heaven, and is to be meditated upon as a female dressed in red garments, riding on a peacock and holding a cock. Sítalá, in its ordinary sense, means cold, and is here used as an epithet, in reference, perhaps, to the occasional coolness of the day at this time of the year, as distinguished from the sixth lunar days in other months. The word seems also to have suggested the principal observance on this occasion. Cooking on this day is interdicted, victuals must be dressed on the day preceding, and on this eaten cold. Images of Shashthí are rarely made, but sometimes a small doll represents the goddess, or she is typified by the stone on which condiments are ground. This is covered with a yellow cloth and placed upon a platform; or in villages, at the foot of the Indian fig-tree. Fruits and flowers are offered to it, with this prayer, "Oh, Shashthí! as thou art cold, do thou preserve my children in health."

The worship of Sítalá, as identical with Shashthí, seems to be retained only in Bengal. In Hindustan, upon this day, the sun is worshipped with fasting and prayers, and with offerings of Akand or Mandára leaves, whence it is called the Mandára Shashthí. There is, however, a Sítalá Pújá on the eighth of the dark half of Chaitra (or Phálguna), in which case the two minor goddesses are of course distinct.

Bha'skara Saptamí.—*Twenty-second of Mágha, seventh day of the light fortnight (4th of February).*—This day is in an especial degree sacred to the sun. Abstinence is to be practised on the day preceding;

[1] From the Brahmá Vaivartta Purán'a.—Prakriti Khan'd'a, s. 40.

and in the morning before sunrise, or at the first appearance of dawn, bathing is to be performed until sunrise; a rigid fast is to be observed throughout the day, worship is to be offered to the sun, presents are to be made to the Brahmans, and in the evening the worshipper is to hold a family feast; one of the observances of the day is abstinence from study, neither teacher nor scholar being allowed to open a book.

At the time of bathing, certain prayers are to be mentally recited, during which the bather places upon his head a platter holding seven leaves of the arka plant (calotropis gigantea), or sataván (asparagus racemosus), or the jujube, or a little oil and a lighted wick, and stirs the water around him, according to some, with a piece of sugar-cane; after his prayers, he removes the articles from his head, and sets the lamp afloat on the water. He then makes the usual libations to the Manes, and having gone home, presents food, and money, and clothes, according to his means, to the Brahmans. One of the formulæ of meditation given is, "Glory to thee, who art a form of Rudra, to the lord of Rasas, to Varuna, oh Hárivása, be salutation to thee."

The Káśí Khańda, as quoted in the Kalpa Druma, gives a different prayer: "Of whatever sin committed by me during seven lives, may this Mákarí Saptamí remove both the sorrow and the shame; and whatever sin has been committed by me in this life, through the influence of time, whether in mind, spirit, or body, wittingly or unwittingly, may every such sin, involving the fruit of seven diseases, be effaced by this bathing, oh thou who art identical with the sun, do thou efface it, oh Mákarí Saptamí!" The repetition of this prayer purifies a person from all sin, and the whole rite is considered as securing him from sickness and premature decay.

As appears from these latter mantras, the day is also termed Mákarí Saptamí, the seventh lunar day of the sun in Capricornus. It may be doubted if the term Mákarí is rightly understood, even by the original authorities. Raghunandana considers it to designate the whole month of Mágha, which, regarded as a solar month, should commence with the sun's entrance into the sign. There may, however, be something more in it, and it may originally have been identical with the Uttaráyańa, when the sun is equally an especial object of adoration, and either a change of computation depending on astronomical periods, or the purpose of multiplying festivals, has detached it from its primitive position.

In Upper India, the day is also called Achalá Saptamí, the fixed or immovable seventh, because it is said it is always to be held sacred. In the South it is better known as the Ratha Saptamí, or Seventh of

the Chariot; for it is also the first day of a Manwantara, or period of the reign of a Manu, being that of Vivaswat, when the sun comes abroad in a new carriage. Agreeably to the directions given in the Kalpa Taru, for the proper observance of this rite, the sun should be worshipped in his own temple—a temple it would now be difficult to discover in any part of India—with prayers and offerings upon the sixth; during which abstinence is to be practised, and at night the worshipper is to sleep on the ground. He is to bathe and fast on the seventh, as before described, but he is also to construct a car of gold, or silver, or wood, with horses and driver; and after the mid-day ablutions, to decorate it, and with prayers from the Vedas invite the sun to take his place in it. Worship is then to be addressed to the sun, and the worshipper is to prefer whatever desire he may have formed, which the sun will assuredly grant him. The night is to be spent with music, singing, and rejoicing, and in the morning ablution is to be repeated; presents are to be made to the Brahmans, and the car with all its appurtenances is to be presented to the Guru or spiritual preceptor. This is probably an ancient rite, coeval with the development of the institutions of the Vedas.

Various other appellations are specified as belonging to this same lunar day, as the Jayantí Saptamí, the victorious seventh; the Mahá Saptamí, the great seventh, and others; but the characteristic observance is the same, and whatever the designation, the worship of the sun is the prominent ceremony of the seventh of the light half of Mágha.

The same may be said, however, of the seventh lunar day throughout the year, chiefly of one seventh in each fortnight, that of the moon's increase; but also of the seventh day of the wane. Besides which, there are particular sevenths to which the concurrence of other circumstances, such as its falling on a Sunday, or when the moon enters certain mansions, as Rohini, gives extraordinary sanctity, and renders the worship of the sun more than usually efficacious. The specification of the days of the week by the names of the seven planets, is, as it is well known, familiar to the Hindus. The origin of this arrangement is not very precisely ascertained, as it was unknown to the Greeks and not adopted by the Romans until a late period. It is commonly ascribed to the Egyptians and Babylonians, but upon no very sufficient authority, and the Hindus appear to have, at least, as good a title as any other people to the invention[1].

[1] It has been thought that Herodotus alludes to the custom, when he observes, lib. ii., c. 82, that the Egyptians assign their months and days to different deities. Pliny also has an obscure intimation that the sovereignty over each day was attri-

Aditya-vára, Ravi-vára, or Rabi-bar in the barbarized vernacular, Dies Solis, or Sunday, is one of every seven. This is somewhat different from the seventh Tithi or lunar day, but a sort of sanctity is, or at least was, attached even to Sunday, and fasting on it was considered obligatory or meritorious[1]. But the religious Fasti of the Hindus confine their instructions to the Tithi, and declare, that whoever worships the sun, on the seventh day of the moon's increase, with fasting, and offerings of white oblations, as white flowers and the like; and whoever fasts on the seventh of the moon's wane, and offers to the sun red flowers and articles of a red colour, is purified from all iniquity and goes after death to the solar sphere[2]. The worship of the sun, on the seventh of the dark fortnight, seems to have gone out of use, but that on the seventh of the light fortnight is strongly recommended in various authorities, beginning with this seventh of Mágha and continuing throughout the year. In connexion with this observance, different modes of abstinence are enjoined for each succeeding lunar day, such as taking, during the day, small quantities only of milk, or ghee, or water, or acrid leaves; or fasting wholly from sunset on the sixth till after morning ablutions on the eighth; thence this day is also termed Vidhána Saptamí—the seventh of observance—as being the first of the series. On all these occasions Arghyas, or offerings, are presented to the Sun; but the arghya, more peculiarly appropriated to him, consists of eight articles. These slightly vary in different specifications, but they are usually water, milk, curds, ghee, sesamum and mustard seeds, grains of rice, and the blossom of the kúsa grass. Perfumes and flowers, especially of a white or a red colour, are also most fit to be presented to the sun, according to some authorities. Gifts of fuel, and the lighting of a large fire on the morning of the seventh lunar day of Mágha,

buted to the planets in the order of their revolution. In the time of Dion Cassius, or in the beginning of the third century, the nomenclature had come into general use, and he is the authority for its Egyptian origin. As in the Latin version, quod autem dies ad septem sidera illa, quos planetas appellarunt, referuntur id ab Ægyptiis institutum.—Lib. 38, c. 18. Christmannus, a modern Latin writer, (de Kalendario Romano,) attributes the nomenclature to the Babylonians: Sane apud Romanos nulla tunc erat distinctio temporis in hebdomades dierum; ea tamen apud Babylonios et Ægyptios statim a regno Nabonasari in usu fuit cum septem planetarum nominibus dies septimanæ appellarentur. He does not give his authorities. It was not impossibly of Chaldæan invention, but was very generally diffused throughout the East at a remote date.

[1] The jackall declines touching the sinewy meshes of the noose, because it is Sunday.—Hitopadesa.

[2] Commentary on Tithi Tatwa.

are also meritorious acts. The following are two other prayers[1] usual on these occasions, in which it will be noticed that the number "Seven" makes a conspicuous figure.

Upon presenting the Argha, the day itself, personified as a goddess, is thus addressed; "Mother of all creatures, Saptamí! who art one with the lord of the seven coursers and the seven mystic words, glory to thee in the sphere of the sun;" and on prostration before the sun or his image, the worshipper utters, "Glory to thee, who delightest in the chariot drawn by seven steeds, the illuminator of the seven worlds; glory to thee on the seventh lunar day—the infinite, the creator!" It is impossible to avoid inferring, from the general character of the prayers and observances, and the sanctity evidently attached to a recurring seventh day, some connexion with the sabbath, or seventh, of the Hebrew Heptameron.

BHÍSHMA'SHTAMÍ.—*Twenty-third of Mágha, eighth lunar day of the light half (7th February.)*—This is a festival which, at first sight, appears to be of special and traditional origin, but which has, probably, its source in the primitive institutes of the Hindus, of which the worship of the Pitris, the patriarchs or progenitors, the Dii Manes, constituted an important element. According to the Tithi Tatwa, this day is dedicated to Bhíshma, the son of Gangá, and great uncle of the Pándava and Kaurava princes; who was killed in the course of the great war, and dying childless left no descendant in the direct line, on whom it was incumbent to offer him obsequial honours. In order to supply this defect, persons in general are enjoined to make libations of water on this day to his spirit, and to offer him sesamum seeds and boiled rice. The act expiates the sins of a whole year: one of its peculiarities is, that it is to be observed by persons of all the four original castes, according to a text of Dhavala, an ancient lawgiver, quoted by Raghunandana, "Oh, twice-born! persons of all the Varńas should on the eighth lunar day offer water, sesamum seeds, and rice, to Bhíshma. If a Brahman, or man of any other caste, omit to make such offerings, the merit of his good deeds during the preceding year is annulled." According to a different reading of the text, however, it should be rendered: "Let all the twice-born castes make the oblations." This excludes Śúdras, but extends the duty to the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas as well as Brahmans. The intention of the rite, as now understood, is expressed in the formulæ uttered at the time of presenting the offerings: "I present this water to the childless hero Bhíshma, of the race of Vyághrapada, the chief of the house of Sankriti. May Bhíshma,

[1] From the Narasinha Purán'a.

the son of Santanu, the speaker of truth and subjugator of his passions, obtain by this water the oblations due by sons and grandsons." The simple nature of the offerings which are sufficient on such occasions, water and sesamum seeds, justifies the remark made by Ovid on the Feralia, that the Manes are easily satisfied,—Parva petunt manes.

The observance of this ceremony is almost obsolete in Bengal, and in the principal authorities of Hindustan it is not noticed. The Bhavishyottara Puráńa has a Bhíshma panchakam,—a solemn rite which begins on the 11th of Kártik (light half), and continues to the 13th, which has something of the character of the Feralia, being a period of mortification and fasting, and expiatory of sin, which is worshipped in an effigy made for the occasion, placed upon a measure of sesamum, and invoked by the appellations of Dharma-raja or Yama, the judge of the dead. The ceremony is said to have been ordained by Bhíshma, when mortally wounded, and is to be practised by all castes, and even by women. The rite is not found, however, in any of the calendars, and it is probably an expiring relique of the once general and public worship of the Manes.

Bhaimyeka'daśí.—*Eleventh lunar day of the light half of Mágha (10th February.)*—This is also a festival of traditional origin, said to have been first observed by Bhíma, one of the Páńdu princes, in honour of Vishńu, according to the instructions of Vásudeva. Every eleventh lunar day, it may be observed, is held in extravagant veneration by the Hindus, but more particularly by the Vaishńavas. Fasting on the eleventh is declared to be equally efficacious with a thousand aśwamedhas, and eating during its continuance as heinous a sin as parricide, or the murder of a spiritual teacher. This extravagance demonstrates its sectarian character, and consequently its more modern origin. The notion may have grown, however, out of particular appropriations of the lunar day, when the eleventh was set apart, as in the present case, to the adoration of Vishńu.

According to the ritual, the worshipper on this occasion is to fast on the tenth, and bathe at sunset. He is to bathe at dawn on the eleventh, and having previously constructed a temporary temple in the court-yard of his house, he is to cause burnt-offerings to be made to Purushottama and other forms of Vishńu, by Brahmans acquainted with the Vedas; he himself going through a rather complicated series of prayers and gesticulations. There is no image of Vishńu, and he is invoked by formulæ derived from the Vedas. The worshipper observes a strict fast throughout the day, and keeps a vigil at night

with music and singing. On the morning of the twelfth he dismisses the Brahmans with presents, bathes, and then takes a meal, of which flesh forms no part. The performance of this ceremony expiates the sin incurred by omission of any of the prescribed fasts during the preceding twelvemonth.

Some differences of date and nomenclature occur, in various authorities, regarding this day. The Kalpa Druma calls it Jayá, but enjoins fasting and watching, and the worship of Vishńu; and attributes to it the same expiatory efficacy, calling it the purifier, the destroyer of sin, the bestower of all desires, and the granter of emancipation to mankind.—Pavitrá, pápahantrí cha, kámadá, mokshadá, nrinám. The same work, however, has a day named from Bhíma, and refers to the same legend for its origin; but it places it on the following day, as Bhíma dwádaśí. The Bhavishyottara Puráńa also removes the day to the twelfth, and tells a different story to account for it, describing it as taught by the sage Pulastya to King Bhíma, the father of Damayantí, in reply to his anxious inquiry how sin was to be efficaciously expiated. Like the preceding, its essence is the domestic worship of Vishńu, with the Homa or oblations to fire, and ceremonies and prayers of Vaidika origin. One part of the ceremony consists in the administration of a sort of shower-bath to the institutor of the rite, as towards evening water is dropped upon his head from a perforated vessel, whilst he sits meditating upon Vishńu. The evening is to be spent in music and singing, and the reading of the Harivansa, or Sánti parva of the Mahábhárata. The ceremony expiates all possible wickedness. The rite is held in little esteem, and is evidently compounded of the observances of various eras,—all of which are equally little understood,—although the compound is manifestly of a purificatory or expiatory character.

Shat Tíla Da'nam.—*Twenty-seventh Mágha, twelfth day of the light half* (*11th February*).—This may be considered as in some sort a continuation of the Bhaimyekádasí, and is intended for the same object—the removal or expiation of sin. As the name implies, six different acts are to be performed, in all which Tila or sesamum seeds, are an essential ingredient. The person who observes the rite is to bathe in water in which they have been steeped—to anoint himself with a paste made of them—to offer them with clarified butter upon fire—to present them with water to the manes of his ancestors—to eat them—to give them away. The consequences of so doing are purification from sin, exemption from sickness and misfortune, and a sojourn in Indra's heaven for thousands of years. According to the Bráhma

Puráńa, Yama, the deity of the infernal regions, created Sesamum after long and arduous penance upon this day, whence its sanctity. The same title and the same virtues are sometimes attributed also to the twelfth of the dark fortnight of the month, as was explained by Agastya to Dattatreya, when he asked by what means the effects of sin would be obviated, and sinners saved from hell without great effort or munificent donations[1]. The ceremonies to be performed with Tila seeds are the easy means of accomplishing the object. The importance attached to the use of Sesamum in most of the offerings, but especially in those to the Manes, is very remarkable and not very explicable. The legend of their being generated by Yama is rather the consequence than the cause of such appropriation. Sesamum seeds did form an ingredient in the offerings of the Greeks, but not with the same frequency, nor apparently with the same object. Cakes of sesamum were distributed by them at marriages, as the grains were considered typical of fertility. Perhaps some such opinion may have prevailed amongst the Hindus, and hence their use in obsequial offerings, the great end of which is not merely the satisfaction of the dead, but the perpetuation of progeny, and the prosperity of the living.

Another festival is observed on this day, in some parts of India, in honour of Vishńu, as the Varáha, his descent as a boar to lift up the earth from beneath the waters, being supposed to have occurred on this day; hence it is termed also the Varáha Dwádasi.

Yuga'dya'.—*Thirtieth Mágha, fifteenth day, light half, or full moon of Mágha* (*14th February.*)—Bathing and fasting, and the offering of sesamum seeds to the Manes, are enjoined on the full moon of Mágha, and it is also held in additional honour as the anniversary of the commencement of the Kali Yug, or present age of the world, the age of impurity. According to some authorities the anniversaries of the Yugas occur not on the days of opposition, or full moon, but on those of conjunction or new moon, and this is more consonant to the character of the rites principally practised, as bathing and libations of water and sesamum to the Dii Manes. Thus the Vishńu Puráńa observes, the fifteenth of Mágha in the dark fortnight is one of the days called by ancient teachers, the Anniversaries of the first day of a Yuga or Age, and are esteemed most sacred; on these days water mixed with sesamum seeds should be regularly presented to the progenitors of mankind; and again, the Pitris are described as saying, "After having received satisfaction for a twelvemonth we shall further derive it from

[1] Kalpa Druma.

libations offered by our descendants at some holy place at the end of the dark fortnight of Mágha."

SA'KA'SHTAMÍ.—*Ninth of the solar month Phálguna; Eighth day of lunar month Phálguna, dark half (22nd February).*—This is another of the eighth lunar days dedicated to the Manes, when their worship is to be performed with the usual accompaniments of bathing and abstinence, and offerings to the Viswadevas or universal gods. On this occasion the offerings presented to the Pitris are, as the name imports, restricted to vegetable substances, Sáka signifying any potherb.

VIJAYAIKA'DASÍ.—*Eleventh Phálguna, dark half (24th February).*—A celebration little known or observed. A water jar, decorated with the emblems of Vishńu, and considered as a type of him, is worshipped with the usual oblations; bathing in the morning and a vigil at night are to be observed. This is considered as a purificatory ceremony, first performed by Ráma to secure his passage across the ocean to Lanká: according to the authority, the Skanda Puráńa, quoted by the Kalpa Druma, it is an old ceremony of a purificatory tendency, removing sin and conducing to virtue.

Before taking leave of the period which has been latterly described, and which corresponds with the greater portion of the month of February, it is impossible not to be struck with the peculiar character of the ceremonies. From the time of the Vasanta panchamí, which ushers in the spring with indications of festivity, all the observances partake more or less of a lustral or purificatory purport; some of them have no other aim than the expiation of sin, whilst this in others is mixed up with the worship of the Manes. Purification from, or expiation of wickedness is, however, the predominating design of the ceremonies; and ablution and fasting, and abstinence of all kinds are the practices considered essential to the attainment of this object. Such are the chief intentions of the Makara Saptamí, Bhíshmáshtamí, Bhaimyekádasí, Shat-tila dánam, Yugádya, and Sákáshtamí, all occurring within this interval. Now the spirit of the time is precisely that which marked a great part of the month of February among the Romans, and the name of the month itself is said to have been derived from its dedication by Numa to Februus, the god of lustrations, for in that month it was necessary to purify the city and pay to the Dii Manes, the oblations that were their due: "Nomen habet a Februo deo lustrationum cui a Numa erat dicatus. Lustrari autem eo mense civitatem necesse erat; quo statuit ut justa Diis manibus solverentur[1]."

[1] Macrobius, Saturn. I. 13.

According to some, the name is derived from the verb "februor," to be cleansed or purified. The connexion between lustrations and obsequial rites is another analogy, and consonantly with this opinion, the Feralia, or worship of the manes were celebrated for several days in February, ending with the 17th, or according to some with the 23rd. The month was thence called also the Feralis Mensis. This similarity of time and of purposes can scarcely have been accidental, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Feralia of the Romans and the Sráddha of the Hindus, the worship of the Pitris and of the Manes, have a common character and had a common origin.

SIVARA'TRÍ.—*Fourteenth of the lunar month Phálguna; dark half, (27th February).*—This, in the estimation of the followers of Siva, is the most sacred of all their observances, expiating all sins, and securing the attainment of all desires during life, and union with Siva or final emancipation after death. The ceremony is said to have been enjoined by Siva himself, who declared to his wife Umá, that the fourteenth of Phálguna, if observed in honour of him, should be destructive of the consequences of all sin, and should confer final liberation. According to the Isána Sanhitá, it was on this day that Siva first manifested himself as a marvellous and interminable Linga, to confound the pretensions of both Brahmá and Vishńu, who were disputing which was the greater divinity. To decide the quarrel, they agreed that he should be acknowledged the greater, who should first ascertain the limits of the extraordinary object which appeared of a sudden before them. Setting off in opposite directions, Vishńu undertook to reach the base, Brahmá the summit; but after some thousand years of the gods spent in the attempt, the end seemed to be as remote as ever, and both returned discomfited and humiliated, and confessed the vast superiority of Siva. The legend seems to typify the exaltation of the Saiva worship over that of Vishńu and Brahmá, an event which no doubt at one time took place.

There is some difference of practice in respect to the day on which this festival is observed; according to some authorities, it is held on the fourteenth of the dark half of Mágha, according to others on the fourteenth of that of Phálguna; but this is a mere nominal difference, arising from the modes of reckoning the beginning of the month from the new or the full moon. Another difference, which is less easily adjusted, is that of date; some considering the festival as properly commencing on the thirteenth instead of the fourteenth; which appears to be the case in the South, according to the published calendars. This arises from the circumstance of the chief part of the

ceremony being observed by night, as the name of Sivarátri denotes, and of a variety in the apportionment of the hours of the night to the series of observances. According to some, the ceremony should begin on the evening of the thirteenth Tithi, or lunar day, if it extends to four hours after sunset; according to others, it should begin on whichever of the two tithis or lunar days comprises the larger proportion of the hours of the night; according to some, it should be held on the Tithi, which comprises both evening twilight, and midnight; and according to others, that which includes midnight without the evening. These are knotty points, which are not very intelligible without reference to an almanac, but they are not the less important in the eyes of the worshippers of Siva. When the Tithi coincides with the solar day, or lasts from sunrise to sunrise, it is called Suddha, or pure, and the rite begins with the morning of the fourteenth and closes on the morning of the fifteenth.

The three essential observances are fasting during the whole Tithi, or lunar day, and holding a vigil and worshipping the Linga during the night; but the ritual is loaded with a vast number of directions, not only for the presentation of offerings of various kinds to the Linga, but for gesticulations to be employed, and prayers to be addressed to various subordinate divinities connected with Siva, and to Siva himself in a variety of forms. After bathing in the morning, the worshipper recites his Sankalpa, or pledges himself to celebrate the worship. He repeats the ablution in the evening, and going afterwards to a temple of Siva, renews his pledge, saying, "I will perform the worship of Siva, in the hope of accomplishing all my wishes, of obtaining long life, and progeny, and wealth, and for the expiation of all sins of whatever dye I may have committed during the past year, open or secret, knowingly or unknowingly, in thought, or act, or speech." He then scatters mustard-seed with special mantras, and offers an argha; after which he goes through the mátrika nyása,—a set of gesticulations accompanied by short mystical prayers, consisting chiefly of unmeaning syllables, preceded by a letter of the alphabet: as, A-kam, A'-srán, salutation to the thumb; I-chan, I'-srin, salutation to the forefinger; U-stan, U'-stúm, salutation to the middle finger; and so on, going through the whole of the alphabet with a salutation, or namaskár, to its many parts of the body, touching each in succession, and adding, as the Mantras proceed, names of the Mátris, female Saktís, or energies of Siva, who, by virtue of these incantations, are supposed to take up their abode for the time in the different members of the worshipper. Other objects are supposed to be effected by similar means; impediments are obviated by stamping thrice, and repeating as often the Mantra

"Houn, to the weapon, phat;" next, with the same mantra, and by thrice snapping the finger, the ten quarters of the sphere, or universal space, are aggregated in the Linga; and the purification of all beings is to be effected by thrice clapping the hands together, and uttering the same Mantra each time. The repetition of nyása, or touching parts of the body whilst repeating mystical ejaculations, accompanies every offering made to the Linga, as fruits, flowers, incense, lights, and the like, during the whole ceremony.

When the rite is performed, as it most usually is, in the performer's own residence, a Linga, if not already set up, is consecrated for the purpose; and this is to be propitiated with different articles in each watch of the night on which the vigil is held. In the first watch, it is to be bathed with milk, the worshipper, or the Brahman employed by him, uttering the Mantra "Houn—reverence to Iśána." An offering is then made with the prayer: "Devoutly engaging in thy worship, oh, Iśwara, and in repeating thy names, I celebrate the Sivarátrí rite according to rule, do thou accept this offering!" Incense, fruits, flowers, and articles of food, as boiled rice, or sometimes even dressed flesh are offered with the customary prostration, and with the repetition of other Mantras.

A similar course is followed in the other three periods, with a modification of the formulæ, and the articles used to bathe the Linga with Then in the second, it is bathed with curds, with the Mantra "Houn —reverence to Aghora;" and the mantra of the Argha is "Reverence to the holy Siva, the destroyer of all sins; I offer this Argha at the Sivarátri, do thou with Umá be propitious." In the third, the bathing is performed with ghee, with the Mantra "Houn, reverence to Vámadeva;" and the Argha-mantra is, "I am consumed by pain, poverty, and sorrow: oh Lord of Párvatí, do thou, oh beloved of Umá, accept the Argha I present thee on this Sivarátri!" In the fourth watch the Linga is bathed with honey, with the Mantra "Houn, reverence to Sadyajáta;" and the Argha-prayer is, "Oh, Sankara! take away the many sins committed by me, accept, beloved of Umá, the oblation I present thee on this the night of Siva." At the end of the watch, or daylight, the ceremony is to be concluded with the radical mantra, "Siváya nama," and some such prayers as these; "Through thy favour, oh Iśwara! this rite is completed without impediment; oh look with favour, oh lord of the universe, Hara, sovereign of the three worlds, on what I have this day done, which is holy and dedicated to Rudra! Through thy grace has this rite been accomplished. Be propitious to me, oh, thou most glorious! Grant to me increase of affluence: merely by beholding thee I am assuredly sancti-

fied." Oblations to fire are then to be made, and the ceremony concludes with further offerings to the Linga, and with the Mantra, "By this rite may Sankara be propitiated, and coming hither, bestow the eye of knowledge on him who is burnt up by the anguish of worldly existence." Brahmans are to be entertained, and presents are to be made to them by the master of the house and his family holding a feast.

Those modes of adoration which are at all times addressed to the different forms of Siva, and those articles which are peculiarly enjoined to be presented to the Linga, form, of course, part of the observances of the Sivarátri. Amongst the forms is the Japa, or muttered recitation of his different names as the worshipper turns between his fingers the beads of a rosary, made of the seeds of the Rudráksha, or Eleocarpus. The fullest string contains one hundred and eight beads, for each of which there is a separate appellation, as Siva, Rudra, Hara, Sankara, Iśwara, Maheśwara, Súlapáni, Paśupati, and others. Amongst the latter, are certain leaves and flowers, and fruits, and especially those of the bel-tree, as in the text—"The Vilwa is the granter of all desires, the remover of poverty; there is nothing with which Sankara is more gratified than with the leaf of the Vilwa." The flower of the Datúra is another of his favourites, and a single presentation of it to a Linga is said to secure equal recompense as the gift of a hundred thousand cows. At the Sivarátri worship, the Linga may be crowned with a chaplet of Ketaki flowers, but only on this occasion. According to the legend, a Ketaki blossom fell from the top of the miraculous Siva-linga, already alluded to as having appeared to Brahmá and Vishńu, and being appealed to by the former, falsely affirmed that Brahmá had taken it from the summit of the Linga. Vishńu, knowing this to be untrue, pronounced an imprecation upon the flower, that it should never more be offered to Siva. He was moved, however, by the penitence of the flower, so far to remit the penalty, as to allow its decorating the Linga worshipped at the Sivarátri pújá.

The worship of Siva at this season is permitted to all castes, even to Chándálas, and to women, and the use of the Mantras seems to be allowed to them; the only exception being the mystical syllable "Om." This they are not to utter; but they may go through the acts of worship with the prayer "Siváya nama." The same rewards attend their performance of it with faith, elevation to the sphere of Siva, identification with him and freedom from future birth, and these benefits accrue even though the rite be observed unintentionally and unwittingly, as is evidenced by the legend of a forester which is related

in the second part of the Síva Puráńa, ch. xxxiv. Being benighted in the woods on the Sivarátri, the forester took shelter in a Vilwa-tree. Here he was kept in a state of perpetual wakefulness by dread of a tiger prowling round the foot of the tree. He therefore observed, though compulsorily, the Jágarańa or vigil. The forester had nothing with him to eat, consequently he held the fast. Casting down the leaves of the tree to frighten the tiger, some of them fell upon a deserted Linga near the spot, and thus he made the prescribed offering. On the ensuing morning the forester fell a prey to the tiger, but such was the fruit of his involuntary observance of the rites of the Siva-rátri, that when the messengers of Yama came to take his spirit to the infernal regions they were opposed by the messengers of Siva, who enlisted him in their ranks, and carried him off in triumph to the heaven of their master.

Notwithstanding the reputed sanctity of the Sivarátri, it is evidently of sectarial and comparatively modern, as well as merely local institution, and consequently offers no points of analogy to the practices of antiquity. It is said in the Kalpa Druma, that two of the mantras are from the Rig veda, but they are not cited, and it may well be doubted if any of the Vedas recognise any such worship of Siva. The great authorities for it are the Puráńas and the Tantras; the former—the Siva, Linga, Padma, Matsya, and Váyu, are quoted chiefly for the general enunciations of the efficacy of the rite and the great rewards attending its performance: the latter for the mantras: the use of mystical formulæ, of mysterious letters and syllables, and the practice of the Nyása and other absurd gesticulations being derived mostly, if not exclusively, from them, as the Iśána Sanhitá, the Siva Rahasya, the Rudra Yámala, Mantra-Mahodadhi, and other Tántrika works. The age of these compositions is unquestionably not very remote, and the ceremonies for which they are the only authorities, can have no claim to be considered as parts of the primitive system. This does not impair the popularity of the rite, and the importance attached to it is evidenced by the copious details which are given by the compilers of the Tithi Tatwa and Kalpa Druma regarding it, and by the manner in which it is observed in all parts of India.

The performance of the ceremonies of the Sivarátri is possessed of enhanced efficacy when conducted at those places which are in an especial manner dedicated to Siva, particularly at the shrines which were known to have been celebrated seats of worship of the Linga before the Mohammedan invasion. Such is the temple of Vaidyanáth in Bengal, about 110 miles W. by N. from Murshedabad. The Linga worshipped there is one of the twelve great Lingas which were wor-

shipped in India at least ten centuries ago, and still retains its reputation. In consequence of the establishment of the Mohammedan rule, and its position in a rugged and mountainous country overrun with thickets, the shrine fell for a season into neglect and decay, but it was repaired and restored to popularity by a Maithila Brahman about two centuries since. An annual Mela takes place at Vaidyanáth, at the Sivarátri, when more than a hundred thousand pilgrims assemble. The meeting lasts three days, and the offerings made to the temple ordinarily exceed a lakh and a-half of rupees. The shrine has some credit as an oracle, and a course of worship and fasting on the spot is productive of dreams, which are believed to convey the answers of Siva to the prayers and petitions that have been preferred to him.

A still more numerous concourse of pilgrims occurs annually on the Sívaratri at the temple of Mallikárjuna in the Dekhin, also one of the twelve ancient Lingas, the temple of which is situated in a country quite as difficult of access as Vaidyanáth. An account of the Mela held here is given by the late Colonel Mackenzie, in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches. He calls the place Sri-parvatham—properly Srí Parvata, or Srí Saila, the holy mountain—he specifies the name of the Linga, however, as Mallikarja, that is to say Mallikárjuna.

According to the Bombay Calendar, there is a numerous assemblage of Hindus at the Sivarátri on the Island of Elephanta, the great cave temple of which place contains the well known three-headed image of Siva.

Govínda Dwa'dasi.—*Twenty-seventh solar Phálguna; twelfth day, light half,* (*13th March.*) This is a festival, which, as observed in Bengal, is held in honour of Krishńa, who is worshipped in his juvenile form as a cowherd. In Hindustan it is termed the Nrisinha dwádasí, and is dedicated to Vishńu in his Avatára of the Nrisinha, or man-lion. In neither is it an observance held in much repute.

Ghan't'a-karn'a Pu'ja'.—*Twenty-ninth solar Phálguna; fourteenth day, light half* (*15th March*). This is also a minor festival, and apparently confined to Bengal. Ghańta-karńa, one of Siva's gańas, or attendants, is to be worshipped under the type of a water-jar: the object of the rite is expressed in this prayer, which accompanies the presentation of fruits and flowers to the jar. "Oh, Ghańta-karńa! healer of diseases, do thou preserve me from the fear of cutaneous affections." Ghańta-karńa is described in the Síva Puráńa as endowed with great personal beauty, and is, therefore, reputed to sympathise

with those who suffer any disfigurement. In Hindustan there are directions for worshipping Maheswara, or Siva himself, on the fourteenth of the light half of Phálguna.

Dola Ya'tra', or Holi.—*Thirtieth solar Phálguna, or first of Chaitra; fifteenth day, light half, or full moon of Phálguna* (16*th March*).—Although named together, and in various parts of India, especially in Bengal, confounded with each other, yet in other places these festivals are still, as they no doubt were originally elsewhere, distinct[1]; the Dolotsava, or Swinging Festival, taking place at a date something later, and this period belonging, most appropriately, to the Holi. It will be convenient to notice them here together however, for the Holi, as a distinct celebration, is not known in Bengal, although many of the observances which are there practised at the Dola Yátrá are in many respects the same, are influenced by the same spirit, and express in the like style of language and deportment the feelings of exuberant gladness which hail the return of spring.

When India was governed by native princes, and the institutions of the Hindus were in full vigour, there is reason to believe, that at this time of the year a series of connected and consistent festivities spread through a protracted period of several weeks, and that the whole constituted the Vasantotsava, the feast of Vasanta or Spring. The proper commencement of this period was, perhaps, the Vasanta Panchami, the fifth of the light half of Mágha, which, as we have had occasion to notice, was regarded as the beginning of Spring. After this, however, ensued the gloomy succession of lustral and purificatory rites which have been described, and which suspend the season of festivity until the period now under consideration, when the Holi takes the place of the initiatory Vasanta Panchamí, and is followed by celebrations in honour of Spring, and the friend of Spring, Love. Whether there has been any dislocation of times and observances here—whether the lustral days did not at one time precede the vernal rejoicings, we have no means of determining; but it is somewhat remarkable, that such was the case with the February of the Romans, which, in the days of Numa, when their year consisted of but ten months, was the last of the year, and therefore, was fitly enough the season for expiating the accumulated iniquities of the preceding months. However this may be, such is now the case, and the vernal festival is broken in upon and interrupted by observances of a different complexion—the effect of

[1] The Kalpa Druma does notice a Dolotsava,—the swinging of Krishn'a on the Phálguní purnimá.

which may, perhaps, have been to heighten by the contrast the sense of exhilaration when the time for it recurred.

It is also to be remarked, that although traces of the original purport of the festival are palpable enough, yet that Love and Spring have been almost universally deposed from the rites over which they once presided, and that they have been superseded by new and less agreeable mythological creations; new legends have also been invented to account for the origin and object of the celebration, having little or no obvious relation to the practices which are pursued. Thus, in Bengal, the divinity worshipped at the Dola Yátrá is the juvenile Krishńa, whilst in Hindustan, the personified Holi is a female hobgoblin, a devourer of little children.

As publicly commemorated in Bengal, the Dola Yátrá, or swinging festival, begins on the fourteenth day of the light half of Phálguna (about the middle of March). The head of the family fasts during that day. In the evening fire-worship is performed; after which the officiating Brahman sprinkles upon an image of Krishńa, consecrated for the occasion, a little red powder, and distributes a quantity of the same among the persons present. This powder, termed Phalgu, or Abíra, is made chiefly of the dried and pounded root of the Curcuma Zerumbet, or of the wood of the Cæsalpinia Sappan, which are of a red colour, or in some places the yellow powder of Turmeric is substituted. After this ceremony is concluded a bonfire is made on a spot previously prepared, and a sort of Guy Fawkes-like effigy, termed Holiká, made of bamboo laths and straw, is formally carried to it and committed to the flames. In villages and small towns the bonfire is public, and is made outside the houses. The figure is conveyed to the spot by Brahmans or Vaishńavas, in regular procession, attended by musicians and singers. Upon their arrival at the spot, the image is placed in the centre of the pile, and the ministering Brahman, having circumambulated it seven times, sets it on fire. The assistants should then immediately return to their homes. The remainder of the day is passed in merriment and feasting.

Before daylight on the morning of the fifteenth, the image of Krishńa is carried to the swing, which has been previously set up, and placed in the seat or cradle, which, as soon as the dawn appears, is set gently in motion for a few turns. This is repeated at noon, and again at sunset. During the day, the members of the family and their visiters, who are numerous on this occasion, amuse themselves by scattering handfuls of red powder over one another, or by sprinkling each other with rose-water, either plain or similarly tinted. The place where the swing is erected is the usual site of the sport, and

continues so for several days. Boys and persons of the lower orders sally forth into the streets and throw the powder over the passengers, or wet them with the red liquid thrown through syringes, using, at the same time, abusive and obscene language. In the villages, the men generally take part in the mischief, and persons of respectability and females are encountered with gross expressions, or sometimes with rough usage, and rarely, therefore, trust themselves out of their houses whilst the license continues.

The people of Orissa have no bonfire at the Dola Yátrá, but they observe the swinging and the scattering of the abír; they have also some peculiar usages. Their Gosains, Brahmans, followers of Chaitanya, carry in procession the images of the youthful Krishńa to the houses of their disciples and their patrons, to whom they present some of the red powder and atr of roses, and receive presents of money and cloth in return.

The caste of Gopas, or cowherds, is everywhere prominently conspicuous in this ceremony, and especially so amongst the Uriyas; and at the Dola Yátrá, or Holi, they not only renew their own garments, but all the harness and equipments of their cattle; they also bathe them and paint their foreheads with sandal and tumeric. They themselves collect in parties, each under a leader or choragus, whom they follow through the streets, singing, and dancing, and leaping, as if wild with joy. A curious part of their proceeding, suggesting analogies, possibly accidental, with some almost obsolete usages amongst ourselves, is their being armed with slender wands; and as they go along, the leader every now and then halts and turns round to his followers, and the whole clatter their wands together for an instant or two, when they resume their route, repeating their vociferations and songs, chiefly in praise of Krishńa or in commemoration of his juvenile pastimes.

Although the Holi is considered in some parts of Hindustan to begin with the vernal fifth, or Vasanta Panchamí, yet the actual celebration of it, even in Upper India, does not take place till about ten days before the full moon of Phálguna. The two first days of this term are of preparation merely; new garments, red or yellow, are put on, and families feast and make merry together; on the eighth day, the work proceeds more in earnest: images of Krishńa are set up and worshipped, and smeared with red powder, or sprinkled with water, coloured with the same material. In the villages and towns, where there is no Anglo-Indian police to interfere, the people, having selected an open spot in the vicinity, bring thither gradually the materials of a bonfire,—wood, grass, cowdung, and other fuel. The head men of

the villages, or the chiefs of the trades, first contribute their quotas; the rest collect whatever they can lay hands upon,—fences, door-posts, and even furniture, if not vigilantly protected. If these things be once added to the pile, the owner cannot reclaim them, and it is a point of honour to acquiesce—any measures, however, are allowable to prevent their being carried off. During the whole period, up to the fifteenth day, the people go about scattering the powder and red liquid over each other, singing and dancing, and annoying passengers by mischievous tricks, practical jokes, coarse witticisms, and vulgar abuse. In the larger towns, which are subject to British authority, the festival is restricted to three days, and the celebrants are not permitted to attack indifferent passers by of any degree. In Calcutta little of the festival is witnessed, except among the palankin bearers, who are generally permitted by their masters to devote a few hours of the forenoon, for two or three days, to amuse themselves by staining each others' faces and clothes, and singing and dancing, and sometimes getting tipsy. They do not venture to throw the powder over their masters, but they bring a small quantity with some sweetmeats on a tray, and the courtesy is acknowledged by those who do not despise national observances and the merry-making of their dependants by placing two or three rupees upon the platter. In the native regiments a little more licence is allowed, and the officers are gently bepowdered with the abír; and at the Courts of Hindu princes, when such things were, the British Resident and the officers of his suite were usually participators in the public diversions of their Highnesses. An amusing account of the proceedings at the Court of Maharaj Dowlat Rao Sindhia is given by Major Broughton, in his letter from a Marhatta camp.

We have, however, in this digression rather anticipated matters, and must return to the fourteenth day, by which time the pile of the bonfire is completed. It is then consecrated and lighted up by a Brahman, and when the flames break forth, the spectators crowd round it to warm themselves, an act that is supposed to avert ill-luck for the rest of the year; they engage also in some rough gambols, trying to push each other nearer to the fire than is agreeable or safe, and as the blaze declines, jump over and toss about the burning embers; when the fuel is expended and the fire extinct, which is not until the fifteenth or full moon, the ashes are collected and thrown into the water. Such of the celebrants as are Saivas take up part and smear their bodies over with them in imitation of Siva. According to Colonel Tod, the practice of the Rajputs conforms so far to the original institution, that for forty days after the Vasanta Panchamí, or up to the

full moon of Phálguna, the utmost licence prevails at Udaypur, both in word and action; the lower classes regale on stimulating confections and intoxicating liquors, and even respectable persons roam about the streets like bacchanals, vociferating songs in praise of the powers of nature. The chief orgies, however, take place after the beginning of Phálguna, when the people are continually patrolling the streets, throwing the common powder at each other, or ejecting a solution of it from syringes, until their clothes and countenances are all of the same dye. A characteristic mode of keeping the festival is playing the Holi on horseback, when the riders pelt each other with balls of the red powder, inclosed in thin plates of talc which break when they strike.

On the full moon, or Purnimá, the Rána goes in state to an open pavilion in the centre of a spacious plain, where he is attended by his chiefs, and passes an hour listening to the Holi songs. The surrounding crowd amuse themselves with throwing the red powder on all within their reach. After this, the Rána feasts his chiefs, and presents them with cocoa-nuts and swords of lath, in burlesque of real swords; "in unison," Tod observes, "with the character of the day, when war is banished, and the multiplication not the destruction of man is the behest of the goddess who rules the Spring." At nightfall the forty days conclude with the burning of the Holi, when they light large fires into which various substances as well as the abír are cast, and around which groups of children are dancing and screaming in the streets. The sports continue till three hours after sunrise, when the people bathe, change their garments, worship and return to the state of sober citizens; and princes and chiefs receive gifts from their domestics.

Amongst the Tamils, or people of Madras and the farther south, the Dolotsava, or Swing Festival, does not occur until about a month later; but on the fifteenth of Phálguna they have a celebration more analogous to the Holi of Hindustan, and which is no doubt a genuine fragment of the primitive institution, the adoration of the personified Spring. as the friend and associate of the deity of Love. The festival of the full moon of Phálguna is the Káma-dahanam, the burning of Kámadeva, whose effigy is committed to the flames. This is supposed to commemorate the legend of Káma's having been consumed by the flames which flashed indignant from the eye of Siva, when the archer god presumed to direct his shaft against the stern deity, and inflame his breast with passion for Párvatí, the daughter of the monarch of the Himálaya Mountains. Kámadeva was reduced to a heap of ashes, although he was afterwards restored to existence by the

intercession of the bride of Mahádeva. The bonfires in the Dekhin are usually made in front of the temples of Siva, or sometimes of Vishńu, at midnight, and when extinct the ashes are distributed amongst the assistants, who rub them over their persons. The scattering of the abír, the singing and abuse, and the ordinary practices of the festival in Upper India, are also in use in the South.

The prominence given to Kámadeva at this season by the Tamil races, and their preserving some remnant of the purport of the primitive festival, are the more interesting, that little or no trace of the chief object of worship is preserved in Upper India. Kámadeva and Vasanta are quite out of date, and legends of a totally different tendency have been devised to explain the purpose of the bonfire and the effigy exposed to it. The heroine of these legends is a malignant witch, or a foul female goblin, or Rákshasí, named Hori, Holi, or Holiká, a word which, although it occurs in some of the Puráńas, is not of a very obvious Sanskrit etymology[1].

According to one account Holi is the same as the female demon Pútaná, of whom it is related in the Vishńu and Bhágavata Puráńas, and in the popular biographies of Krishńa taken from them, that she attempted to destroy the baby Krishńa, by giving him her poisoned nipples to suck. The little god, knowing with whom he had to deal, sucked so hard and perseveringly, that he drained the Rákshasí of her life. The popular legend adds, that the dead body disappeared, and the Gopas, or cowherds of Mathurá, burnt the Rákshasí therefore in effigy. The chief authority for the institution of the Holi, however, is the Bhavishyottara Puráńa, and as an authentic representation of the popular notion which now prevails, and which is nevertheless no doubt erroneous, I shall give a translation of the legend told in that compilation.

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, Janárdana, wherefore on the full moon of Phálguna, a festival is celebrated in the world, in every village, and in every town; why are children playing and dancing in every house, why is the Holiká lighted, what words are uttered, what is the meaning of the name Attátajá, what of Síloshńá, what divinity is worshipped at this season, by whom was the rite instituted, what observances are to be practised? Give me, Krishńa, a full account of these things.' Krishńa replied: 'In the Krita age, Yudhishthira, there was a king named Raghu, a brave warrior, endowed with all good

[1] It appears from the Bhavishyottara Purán'a, as given below, to be derived from Homa, burnt offering, and Loka, mankind; because the latter are made prosperous by the performance of the former on this occasion; an evidently fanciful derivation.

qualities, a kind speaker, and deep read in the Vedas; he had subdued the whole earth, had brought all its princes under his authority, and virtuously cherished his subjects, as if they had been his own children. In his reign there was neither famine, nor sickness, nor untimely death, nor any iniquity, nor departure from the precepts of religion. Whilst he was thus governing his kingdom, agreeably to the duties of his regal caste, all his people came to him and called upon him to preserve them. They said, 'Lo, into our houses a female Rákshas named Duńđhá enters, both by day and by night, and forcibly afflicts our children, and she cannot be driven out either by charmed bracelets, or by water, or by seeds of mustard, or by holy teachers skilful in exorcisms. Such, oh king! as we have related, is the story of Duńđhá.'

"When the king heard these things, he consulted the Muni Nárada. The Muni replied: 'I will tell you by what means the fiend is to be destroyed. This day is the fifteenth of the light fortnight of Phálguna; the cold season has departed, the warm weather will commence with dawn. Chief of men! let the assurance of safety be this day given to your people, and let them, freed from terror, laugh and sport; let the children go forth rejoicing, like soldiers delighted to go to battle, equipped with wooden swords. Let also a pile of dry wood and stones be prepared, and let it be lighted according to rule, while incantations are recited destructive of wicked fiends. Then let the people, fearless, thrice circumambulate the fire, exclaiming, 'Kila, kila!' and clapping their hands; and let them sing and laugh, and let every one utter, without fear, whatever comes into his mind. In various ways, and in their own speech, let them freely indulge their tongues, and sing and sing again a thousand times, whatever songs they will. Appalled by those vociferations, by the oblation to fire, and by the loud laughter (attahása) of the children, that wicked Rákshasí shall be destroyed, and thenceforth the festival of the Holiká shall be renowned among mankind. Inasmuch as the oblation to fire (homa), offered by the Brahmans upon this day, effaces sin and confers peace upon the world (loka), therefore shall the day be called the Holiká; and inasmuch as the day of full moon comprises the essence of all lunations, so from its intrinsic excellence is Phálguna the bestower of universal happiness. On this day, upon the approach of evening, children should be detained at home; and into the court-yard of the house, smeared with cowdung, let the master of the house invite many men, mostly youths, having wooden swords in their hands: with these they shall touch the children, with songs and laughter, and thus preserving them, shall be entertained with boiled rice and sugar. Thus Duńđhá is to be got rid

of at the hour of sunset, and by this means the safety of children is ensured on the approach of night.' "

The same authority describes a domestic ceremony to be held on the following morning, when offerings are to be made to a water-jar, as a type of Vishńu; and presents are to be given to bards, singers, and Brahmans. The observance of this secures the enjoyment of all desires, and the continuation of life, wealth, and posterity.

Of the songs that are sung at this season, the character is generally said to be highly exceptionable. All that I have had an opportunity of seeing are characterised by little else than insipidity; they are short, seldom exceeding two or three stanzas, the first of which is repeated as a sort of refrain or burden, and the whole song is sung da capo, over and over again. They are either praises of the month or allusions to the juvenile Krishńa, in connexion with the festival, and are supposed to be uttered by the female companions of his boyish frolics in Vrindávana. The following are a few of them:

I.

"Oh friend! proud as you are of your youth, be careful of your garments. The month of Phálguna fills with grief those whose lovers are far away. Oh friend! proud as you are of your youth," &c.

II.

"The month of Phálguna has arrived; I shall mingle with the crowd, and partake of the sports of the Hori. Oh friend! an hour of pleasure is worth a night of mortification. The month of Phálguna has arrived," &c.

III.

"I met on my way the lord of Vrindávana: how can I go to fetch water? If I ascend the roof, he pelts me with pellets of clay; if I go to the river, he sprinkles me over with red powder; if I repair to Gokul, he showers upon me tinted dust. Thus he drives me distracted. I met in the way the lord of Vrindávana."

IV.

"My beloved has sent me a letter to summon his bride home; I blush for my unworthiness. How can I repair to one who knows my imperfections? I blush for my unworthiness. The litter is prepared, but no female friend accompanies me. I blush for my unworthiness, now that my lover summons me home."

V.

"My boddice is wet through; who has thrown the tinted liquor upon me? It is Kanhaiya, the son of Nanda. It is the month of Phálguna. My boddice is wet through," &c.

VI.

"Oh lord of Vraj! gaily you sport to the merry sound of the tabor, and dance along with the nymphs of Vrindávana. Oh lord of Vraj!" &c.

The deviation from ancient times and practices which marks the recurrence of the Vernal Festival among the Hindus themselves, renders it far from surprising that we should fail to find an exact accordance, in all respects, between the Indian observance, as now followed, and that which has prevailed in other seasons and places, with respect to celebrations, the general purport and character of which present probable analogies. We have no right to look for a minute agreement, but it can scarcely be doubted, that there were festivals among the Romans, and that there are even yet observances in Europe which express a similar intention, and originated in the same feelings, and which are, possibly, as well as the Hindu Holi, reliques of what was once the universal method adopted by mankind to typify the genial influence of Spring upon both the inanimate and animated creation, and to express the passionate feelings inspired by the season, and the delight which the revival of nature diffused.

The season of Spring began with the Romans, as with the Hindus, as has been observed, early in the year, on the fifth of the Ides of February; between this and the middle of March different festivals occur, which exhibit some, though not very striking points of coincidence with the Holi.

It is clear, however, that their origin and character were not very well understood by the Romans themselves. Thus of the Lupercalia, when young men ran naked through the city, and married women placed themselves in their way to be struck by them as they passed with leather thongs, under an idea that they were to become prolific thereby, little seems to have been known, except that the festival was of foreign origin and high antiquity, and that it was referable to the rustic sports of the shepherds and cowherds, the Gopas of Arcadia. Again, of the Festum Stultorum, the accounts are meagre and by no means satisfactory. The Matronalia Festa, on the Kalends of March, were more intelligible, and had for their object the increase of progeny, in harmony with the foliation of the trees, the budding of the

grass, the pairing of birds, which were the effects of the season of Spring, and which are equally held in view in the celebration of the Holi, which is considered to be especially promotive of the multiplication of offspring, and preservative of the health and life of children. Another festival of the period, held on the fifteenth of March, is very imperfectly described, and still more imperfectly explained, the worship of the goddess Anna Perenna; a goddess identified with Themis, with Io, with Atlantis, with Luna, or with Anna, the sister of Dido. This was celebrated in the open air by country people with rustic sports, as drinking, singing, and dancing; and a remarkable and unaccountable part of the celebration was the use of ancient or vulgar jokes and obscene language, joci veteres obscænaque dicta canuntur. Finally, on the sixteenth of the Kalends of April, or the seventeenth March, occurred the Liberalia, or Festival of Bacchus, of whom, in this place, Ovid makes a singular remark, possibly embodying an ancient tradition, that burnt-offerings and oblations originated with Bacchus after his conquest of India and the East.

> Ante tuos ortus aræ sine honore fuere,
>   Liber, et in gelidis herba reperta focis,
> Te memorant Ganga, totoque oriente subacto,
>   Primitias magno seposuisse Jovi.—Fasti III., 726—30.

The character of these festival days in the Roman Calendar, and the period during which they took place, suggest probable analogies to the practices of the Hindus at the same season. The analogies are, it is true, very general and unprecise, but to use the words of Brand, "in joining the scattered fragments that survive the mutilation of ancient customs, we must be forgiven if all the parts are not found closely to agree. Little of the means of information have been transmitted to us, and that little can only be eked out by conjecture." Nothing can be more meagre than the Fasti of Ovid in respect to the celebrations above adverted to, and it is obvious that some of them, at least, had become obselete, even in his day, and that he knew little concerning their origin, or their mode of observance[1]; yet little doubt can be entertained that their influence is traceable in practices which are to be found about this time of the year in several of the nations of Europe, particularly in the Carnival and in the day of All Fools.

[1] That this was by no means singular is plain, from the admission of Macrobius, which he puts into the mouths of two of his interlocutors, Horus and Vettius.—1 Saturn. cap. XV.

The Carnival is derived, according to Moresin, from the times of Gentilism, and he quotes Joannes Boemus Aubanus for an account of the extravagancies and indecencies with which it was formerly observed in Germany, that identify its affinity to the Lupercal on the one hand, and, as we should say, the Holi on the other. On the three days preceding Lent he observes[1], "the whole of Germany eats and drinks and gives itself up to jokes and sports, as if there was not another day to live, and people wear disguises and masks, or stain their faces and vestures with red and black paint, or run about naked like the Luperci, from whom, I think, this annual exhibition of insanity has descended to us."

The practices of the Carnival, as now observed in Italy, have been trimmed of their excesses, but even in them there remain vestiges which denote their community of origin with the Holi of the Hindus. The time properly embraces the whole period from the beginning of the year[2], but as in the festival of Phálguna, the last few days are those on which the principal demonstrations take place, and in the licence which is permitted both in speech and conduct, the wearing of masks and disguises, the reciprocal pelting with real or with mock

[1] Quo item modo tres praecedentes quadragesimale jejunium dies peragat, dicere opus non erit, si cognoscatur qua populari qua spontanea insania cætera Germania, a qua et Franconia minime desciscit, vivat, comedit enim et bibit, seque ludo jocoque omnimodo adeo dedit, quasi usus nunquam veniant, quasi cras moritura hodie prius omnium rerum satietatem capere velit; atque ne pudor obstet qui se ludicro illi committunt, facies larvis obducunt, sexum et aetatem mentientes, viri mulierum vestimenta, mulieres virorum induunt. Quidam Satyros aut malos demones potius repraesentare volentes, minio se aut atramento tingunt; habituque nefando deturpant; alii nudi discurrentes Lupercos agunt, a quibus ego annuum istum delirandi morem ad nos defluxisse existimo.

Naogeorgus, in his description, has a variety of passages as applicable to the Holi as the Carnival:—

. Then old and young are both as much as guests of Bacchus' feast;
And four days long they tipple, square, and feede, and never rest.
———— feare and shame away;
The tongue is set at libertie, and hath no kind of stay.
All things are lawfull then and done, no pleasure passed by,
That in their minds they can devise, as if they then should die.

He also speaks of the nudity of some of the revellers, an indecency of which even the Holi players are never guilty:—

Some naked runne about the streets, their faces hid alone
With visors close, that so disguised they may of none be knowne,

and of the insults to which decent people were subjected,—

No matron old, nor sober man can freely by them come.

[2] According to Spalding, the Carnival is supposed to begin from New Year's Day. Matthews says it lasts eight days, with intervals, before Lent.

comfits, and in some places sprinkling with water or throwing powder over each other, obvious analogies exist[1].

There is another practice which presents also a parallel, the extinguishing of the Carnival. This, in Italy, is refined into frolicsome attempts to blow out each other's lighted candles; but the notion appears to be the same as the burning of the Holi, the lighting and extinction of the bonfire, and scattering of the ashes.

There is another of the usages of the Holi which finds a parallel in modern times, although at a somewhat later period. It is mentioned by Colonel Pearce, that one subject of diversion during the Holi, is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment, and raise a laugh at the expence of the person sent. He adds that, Sura-ad-dowla, the Nawab of Bengal, of Black Hole celebrity, was very fond of making Holi Fools[2]. The identity of this practice with making April Fools as noticed by Colonel Pearce, is concurred in by Maurice, who remarks, "that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports, prevalent on the 1st day of April in England, and during the Holi Festival in India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating, with festival rites, the period of the vernal equinox, when the new year of Persia anciently began."

There was a Festum Stultorum about this period amongst the Romans, the purport of which is not very clearly expressed, but some antiquaries have supposed that it constituted the original of the festivals of the Romish Church, the Festa Stultorum, Innocentium, and the like, the extravagances of the Abbot of Unreason, and the sleeveless errands of All Fools, or April Fool day. The periods at which these rude and boisterous manifestations of merriment took place were something different; but, as Brand observes, the crowded state of the Romish Calendar often led to the alteration of the days set apart for festivity, and in the case of the feast of Old or All Fools he quotes authority for its removal to the first of November from some other date, it being expressly stated in the calendar, Festum Stultorum veterum huc translatum est. The period, therefore, is little material —the identity of designation, and similarity of practice render it not unlikely that the day of All Fools had originally something in common with the Festum Stultorum and with the Holi.

[1] Amongst the Portuguese the practices on the Sunday and Monday preceding Lent, as on the first of April in England, people are privileged here (Lisbon) to play the fool. It is thought very jocose to pour water on any person who passes, or throw powder in his face, but to do both is the perfection of wit.—Southey's Letters.

[2] Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., page 334.

Bu'rwa Mangal.—On the first Tuesday after the Holi, a supplementary repetition of it is held at Benares, with sundry modifications of a not uninteresting description. An account of the festival has been given by the late Mr. J. Prinsep, in his valuable views of Benares, and I had also an opportunity of witnessing its observance. During the day the people go in crowds to a place called Durgá kuńda, a large tank and temple dedicated to Durgá, who is worshipped on this occasion. Although there are no regular processions, yet horses and elephants, gaily caparisoned, are plentifully scattered amongst the throng, and the garden walls along the road are crowded with spectators. Strolling actors, disguised as religious mendicants, or as individuals of inferior caste, both male and female, mingle with the crowd, and divert them with singing and dancing and absurd buffoonery. Sometimes different parties oppose each other in a contest of poetical improvisation. In the evening, the more opulent inhabitants of Benares embark on board boats fitted up for the occasion with platforms and awnings, and parade up and down the river throughout the night, having with them bands of musicians, and singers, and dancing girls. When the evening is advanced, the pinnace of the Raja of Benares moves from his residence at Ramnagar, and slowly descends the stream, followed by other boats, lighted up, and displaying fireworks from time to time, until they take their station off one of the principal ghâts. The boats on the river are also illuminated, and are rowed up and down the stream, accompanied by numerous lesser craft selling refreshments, or bearing less wealthy amateurs to catch the strains of some popular songstress. The shore is thronged with people, and discharges of fireworks, with the river pageantry, amuse them until the end of the night. At day break they are again clustered along the magnificent ghâts of Benares, and by their numbers, their order, their diversified and many tinted costumes, in harmony with the elegant architecture of the surrounding edifices, the broad river, and the unclouded sky, present a picture of singular richness, gracefulness, animation, and beauty.

Upon the occasion on which I witnessed this festival, the Raja, on the morning, received the visits of the Governor-General's agent, Mr. Brooke, and other European gentlemen of the station. They were entertained as usual with naching, but upon taking leave, in addition to the ordinary aspersion of rose-water, which was bestowed so copiously as to amount to a ducking, the guests were pelted with rose-leaves, immense trays of which were brought in for the purpose. The attack was retaliated by a shower of the same missiles, which have at

least the character of greater refinement than the confitti di gesso, the plaster of Paris pellets of the Carnival.

According to Mr. Prinsep, the ceremony originated with Zemindar Bulwant Sing, the father of Raja Chait Sing, who adopted the celebration of the Holi on the river, for the gratification of Mir Rustam Ali, the Mohammedan Governor of the province, who had a house on the river-side. As he observes, however, the name Búrwa, old, indicates higher antiquity.

[*To be continued.*]

Art. V.—*On the earliest Persian Biography of Poets, by Muhammad Aúfi, and on some other Works of the class called Tazkirat ul Shuârá.* *By* N. Bland, Esq.

[*Read 17th February,* 1846.]

On a former occasion, I had the honour of laying before the Society an account of one of the most modern and comprehensive Persian works on Poetical Biography. In examining the authorities to which it referred, and in comparing similar compilations, I was led to investigate the actual number of native sources accessible to us on that subject, and was gratified by finding they existed to a far greater extent, than would be presumed from the very limited proportion, in which they have hitherto been made use of, or described.

There results from the inquiry the following list of Biographies, specially devoted to the poets, without taking into account those historical or geographical works, in which literary memoirs or anecdotes are incidentally introduced, nor even dictionaries of learned or holy men, who have also been poets, but whose claims for insertion rest chiefly on other merits[1].

Lubáb ul Albáb.
Behâristán.
Tazkirahi Daulatsháhí.
Mejális ul Nefáïs.
Tuhfahi Sámí.
Maikhánah u Butkhánah.
Khulásat ul Ashâár.
Majmâ ul Fuzla.
Firdúsi Khayál.
Tazkirahi Takí Auhadí.
Tazkirahi Khúshgú.
Kaâbahi Irfán.
Maásiri Rahímí.
Tazkirahi Názim Tabrízí.
Tazkirahi Bábá Sháh.
Tazkirahi Nasrábádí.
Mirát ul Khayál.
Latáïf ul Khayál.
Kelimát ul Shuârá.
Hemíshah Behár.
Hayát ul Shuârá.
Macálát ul Shuârá.
Tazkirahi Mulla Cátáí.
Subhi Sádic.
Nefáïs ul Maásir.
Yadi Bayzá.
Sefínahi Bíkhabar.
Ríázat ul Shuârá.
Majmâ ul Nefáïs.
Tazkirahi Alí Hazín.
Servi Azád.
Intikhábi Tazkirát.
Merdumi Dídah.
Khazánahi Aámirah.
Tazkirahi Bínazír.
Atesh Kedah.
Guli Râná.
Bayázi Bátiní.
Khulásat ul Afkár.
Khulásat ul Kelám.
Suhufi Ibrahím.
Makhzan ul Gharáïb.

[1] Such as the Heft Aclím of Ahmed Rází, the Nafahát ul Uns, Gulzár ul Abrár, and Mejális ul Múminín, containing the lives of celebrated Sufis and Shiahs; and numerous Tarikhs, especially the Muntakhab ul Tawáríkh, the Táríkhi Guzídah, Jehán Ará, Khulásat ul Tawáríkh, &c.

Among so many names a few only are known to us; of which, the Behárístán is familiar from frequent reference and from selections published in the Anthologia Persica[1]. The Tazkirah of Daulatshah is in general use, and with that of Sám Mirza is the subject of learned memoirs by M. de Sacy[2]. The contents of Alíshír's work have been illustrated by Baron Hammer-Purgstall[3], and the Atesh Kedah was noticed in a paper read before this Society[4].

Of the remaining portion, I have thought that a distinct enumeration of the proper title of each work, of its division and contents, some account of the author, and a reference to the authorities from which he had borrowed his materials, might not be uninteresting to those Orientalists who pursue the same path of research.

I regret, however, that the process can be applied only to a very limited number of the above Tazkirahs. Some of the works, it is to be feared, have long since been lost in the countries which gave them birth; destroyed in pillage, consumed by fire, or decayed by time; thus leaving us little more than the knowledge of their name. Many others, no doubt, remain still hidden in various public and private libraries of the East and West, whose treasures are as yet unexplored, or unpublished. From actual inspection, therefore, I am able to present particulars of the following twelve subjects only, which I propose to notice first, and afterwards to proceed to those, of which our knowledge is, at present, more circumscribed.

I.

لباب الالباب

The subject of the first of these sketches, as the earliest in date of those I have to notice, and the prototype of all similar compositions, is the Lubáb ul Albáb[5], by Muhammad Aúfi; a work of such extreme

[1] The whole of the text, with an elegant German translation, has lately been edited at Vienna by Baron Schlechta-Wssehrd.

[2] Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi.

[3] Handschriften Hammer-Purgstall's, Wien. 1840. Article No. 240.

[4] Account of the Atesh Kedah, &c. Vol. VII. of the Journal.

[5] Several works, on various subjects, bear this title, or one similar. An abridgement of the celebrated Mesnawi is called Lubbi Lubáb, by Husain Wáiz Káshifi; also one of the Diwans of the poet Núáí (نوعي) is so named. The title, indeed, appears under such a variety of forms, even in reference to the work now under notice, and is susceptible of so many different meanings, according to altered pronunciation, that the translation is open to conjecture. In this instance it may perhaps be best rendered as the "Marrow, or Quintessence of Biography."

rarity, that I was until lately inclined to doubt of the existence of a copy. For the communication of this fact, and for the use of the manuscript itself, I am indebted to the kindness and liberality of a Member of the Bengal Asiatic Society, a gentleman deeply versed in oriental learning, who is the fortunate possessor of this scarce literary treasure[1].

Although the Lubáb ul Albáb may easily be proved to be the earliest work of its kind, and seems to have been much consulted by succeeding writers, their references to it are mostly vague and indistinct.

Hajji Khalfa mentions, under the head of Tazkirahs, that of "Mohammed al Haufi," (حوفی) which D'Herbelot has transformed into *Khaufi*, probably reading the Ha with a point above.

Táhir of Nasrábád, (No. IV. of these Notices,) mentions in his preface, "The Lubb ul Albáb, comprising the poems of kings and ancient poets, by Muhammad Aúfi, author of the Jámi' ul Hikáyát."

In the Khazánahi Aámirah, a later Biography, (No. X.,) the following notice is given of it among the authorities quoted in the preface. "Lubb ul Lubáb by Muhammad Aúfi. I have had access to an imperfect copy, containing only half the work; from the life of Rúdakí, to that of Nizámí Ganjawí. It is written with great care and skill, and contains the lives of the poets from the beginning of the fourth century to the commencement of the seventh, which is the author's own time. All the modern Biographers, who have written the lives of the most ancient poets, have followed this author."

Accordingly, Al Aúfi is repeatedly quoted in Takí Auhadí's Tazkirah (No. III.), and, probably through this medium, in the Riázat ul Shuârá later (No. VII). Indeed, in the former, the Lubáb seems to form the groundwork of those sections which contain only the memoirs of the earlier authors, though the reference to it is always introduced simply by the words, "Muhammad Aúfi says."

In the Atesh Kedah, it is referred to also, as the "Tazkirah of Muhammad Aúfi."

It is mentioned in the Suhufi Ibrahím, a still more modern work, to be described among the present sketches. (No. XII.)

[1] John Bardoe Elliott, Esq., of the Suddur Court of Calcutta. This gentleman did me the honour of addressing to me some valuable observations on Persian poetry and its biographical literature, and in addition to much information connected with my present object, had the kindness to send over from India, for my use, from his own private collection, two of the most important works on the subject, with which I have yet been made acquainted, and of the mere existence of which I should have been uninformed, but for his kind assistance.

Further than these, I find no reference to this Tazkirah, and from the' notices already cited, it appears that a perfect copy was not always accessible.

The short time I have as yet had the use of Mr. Elliott's MS. allows me to add but little to the account of it I had previously received from him; I therefore cannot do better than subjoin it in his own words, with such additional observations as I am at present able to supply.

"The manuscript is a common sized octavo volume, of 609 pages, written in a fair legible hand, and is perfect at the commencement and conclusion, but wants leaves in one or two places, the number of which cannot be ascertained without comparison with another copy. It contains twelve chapters, the first four of which are employed in discussing the meaning and excellence of poetry; who was the first poet, and who the first writer of Persian poetry.

Chapter V, is occupied with the poetry of kings and chiefs.

Chapter VI, contains the poetry of vizirs, &c.

Chapter VII, the poetry of the religious and learned orders.

Chapter VIII, the poets who flourished under the dynasties of Tahir, Leis, and Saman.

Chapter IX, those who flourished during the rule of the family of Sabaktagin.

Chapter X, those during the rule of the Seljuks, to the end of the reign of Sultan Sâíd.

Chapter XI, those of the present age, who have flourished since the reign of Sultan Sanjar.

Chapter XII, appears to contain the poetry of the Court poets of the day, but the name of the ruler does not appear.

It is difficult to determine the exact date of this Tazkirah, but as the compiler mentions his visiting different cities, and meeting certain poets during the last twenty-five years of the sixth century of the Hijrah, and as late as 600, while there is no allusion to the invasion of Jengiz Khan, I conclude that it must have been completed previous to that event, during the rule of the Kharizmian dynasty over Khorasan and Turkistan. The biographical notices are of comparatively little value, but the merit of the work consists in its having preserved some hundreds of beautiful Casídahs, Ghazals, and other poetry no where else to be found in an entire state, and without curtailment."

Without being able, at present, to add any thing to the above surmise as to the age of Al Aúfi, and in the absence of more exact data, his Tazkirah is clearly three hundred years anterior to the earliest biography of poets, with which we were previously acquainted;

the two composed at the Court of Sultan Husain Baicara bearing the date of 892. Al Aúfi, in his preface, states distinctly, that no work on the subject had been used by him, for, although he mentions several Tazkirahs, or *Tabacát*, as he calls them, on the Arabic Poets, as those of Ibn Selám, Ibn Cutaibah, Ibn ul Mughanni, SaÂlabí's Yetímat ul Dahr, the Dumiat ul Casr, and the Zínat ul Zemán; yet "of Tazkirahs of Persian Poets, or collected extracts from their works, he had seen none[1]." Even on this evidence alone, then, we are justified in assigning to the Lubáb ul Albáb the first place among the Persian Tazkirahs, and a very high degree of interest both from its antiquity and rarity. Al Aúfi stands forth as the father of his country's literary biography, to whom we are equally indebted also for the researches of all those who followed him in the district of literature, in which he had first made an entrance, and prepared a path.

With respect to the Jámi' ul Hikáyát, attributed by Táhir's Tazkirah to the author of the Lubáb ul Albáb, a very slight inquiry is sufficient to destroy the identity of the writer. The Jámi' ul Hikáyát, a collection of amusing tales, arranged in rather an arbitrary and irregular manner, was originally written[2] by Muhammad ul Aúfi, for Shamsuddín Nizám ul Mulk, the celebrated vizir of Melekshah the Seljúk. Now Nizamulmulk died in the year 485[3]. Various dates in the Lubáb ul Albáb bring the period at which it was composed, down to the commencement of the seventh century of the Hijrah, the latest event noted being in the year 600 A.H., in which the author mentions his meeting with the poet Majduddín Muhammad Páyzi, at Nisá, in Khorasan, a hundred and twenty-five years after the death of Nizám ul Mulk, to whom the Jámi' ul Hikáyát was dedicated. Auhadi, whose Tazkirah will be noticed later (No. III.), gives the life of a Cázi Abúl Táhir Yahya bin Táhir bin Othman Al Aúfi, whom he calls "grandfather of Muhammad ul Aúfi, *author of the Biography of Poets, called Lubb ul Albáb, and of the Jámi' ul Hikáyát.*" Unfortunately, no particulars given in that memoir throw any additional light on the subject of our inquiry. I think it is probable, the coincidence of the name caused the mistake in some early writer, and that the error has been perpetuated by adoption into other works without inquiry into the correctness of the statement.

[1] در طبقات شعراي عجم هيچ تاليف مشاهده نيفتاده است و هيچ مجموعه در نظر نيامده

[2] Hammer-Purgstall's Handschriften, No. 174.

[3] Assassinated by the emissaries of Hasan Sabah.

The preface of the Lubáb ul Albáb occupies nine pages, in which, after a very short exordium in praise of the Deity for conferring on mankind the gift of speech and eloquence, the author, naming himself Muhammad Aúfi[1], commences by a description of spring, the season in which he began his book, and by an allegorical dialogue between the rose and bulbul of the garden introduces the eulogy of his patron, the Vizir Aín ul Mulk; on whose name, or rather honorific title, the fourth page commences an elaborate disquisition, according to the different significations of Aín, as Eye, Fountain, and Balance[2]. First, as the discerning *eye* of the state, and to his friends, dearer than the apple of the *eye:* then, as the *fountain* of life, the source of prosperity, "to which the pilgrims of the path of darkness wend their way, as to the stream of Selsibíl;" "may this pure *fountain* be for ever preserved from the evil *eye*, and the equal balance of his prosperity be guarded from the revolving *eye*[3] of depression!" In this last signification as balance, abundant scope is afforded for the ingenuity of the author, from its association with the duties of a judge, and its conversion (مقلوب) into the word Wizárat[4], (Vizirship,) to indulge in praise of his patron's justice and impartiality. The application is thoroughly exhausted in this fanciful disquisition, which occupies two whole pages, and which terminates with a lengthened prayer for the prosperity of that exalted minister.

In page 7 of the Preface, a *Fasl*, or chapter, is introduced on the division of human speech into verse and prose, which is compared to the division of the earth into land and water at the time of Creation, and the resemblance supported by various ingenious arguments and allusions. "Verse may be compared to the sea (Bahr,) for whatever is not in Bahr (measure), is not verse. In this sea are buried treasures of pearl, and gems of mystic meaning, and the keys of this treasure are given into the hand of poetry, according to the Prophet's saying:—'And the keys of the treasure are the tongues of the poets[5].'

[1] In the MS. محمد محمد عوفي possibly for Muhammad, the son of Muhammad, or perhaps only an accidental repetition, of which there are similar instances in the copy. Later in the preface it occurs Muhammad Aúfi only.

[2] ترازو—چشمه—چشم of all which Persian interpretations the Arabic word عين is susceptible.

[3] The eye of the balance.

[4] ترازو by the figure Maclúb (Anagram) makes وزارت

[5] إن لله تعالي خزاين تحت العرش مفاتحها السنة الشعرا

And although travel by sea is the source of many advantages, yet the dread of its dangers deters the wise from participating in those benefits, and in like manner the Prophet has eschewed the pursuit of verse."

This chapter is continued by an allusion to the Seven Muâllacahs, whose glory was annihilated by the descent of the Seven Sacred Verses[1], and expatiates on the inferiority of human composition to the inspired beauties of the Corán.

The preface now concludes with the desire of Muhammad Aúfi to offer to his illustrious patron the results of his art and experience, "a gift, which he prays may, till the day of judgment, be untouched by the hand of calamity, and guarded from misfortune and decay." He calls his book a Compilation on the classes of Persian Poets, and a Collection of unpublished beauties of the learned men of all ages; and names it Lubáb ul Albáb[2], dividing its contents into twelve chapters. The heads of these chapters have already been given from a Fihrist, which has a place in this part of the preface; but it may, perhaps, be interesting to describe their subject somewhat more in detail.

Immediately following this Fihrist, there is a short *Fasl*, which may properly be considered a concluding part of the preface. The author speaks of the deficiency of works on the present subject, and enumerates the Arabic Biographies of Poets, to which I have already alluded. He concludes with a hope, that by the assistance and countenance of the Vizir, his work may be favourably received among the learned of the age, and again prays for his patron's welfare and prosperity.

Chapter I. "On the Excellence of Poetry and the Poetic Art," begins at the bottom of page 11, and occupies five pages. The commencement abounds in conceits similar to those already quoted. Thus, "Speech is the Fountain of Life, whose purity flows through the darkness of ink, and from which the Khizr of prose and verse obtains immortality[3]." The merits and demerits of poetry are then canvassed,

[1] سبعة المثاني The seven verses of the Fátihah, or first chapter of the Coran.

[2] This appears to be the proper title of the book, being the one the author himself gives in the only places, in which he mentions it by name. It is variously quoted in the Tazkirahs, as already seen.

[3] Another allusion to the fabled fountain of the waters of immortality in the land of darkness, and to Khizr, their guardian: possibly even the allusion to Khizr here has reference to the blue and green colours with which eastern manuscripts are ornamented; Khizr being clothed in green, as the herald of spring and verdure. Thus Ahli says, in the Sihri Halál,

خضر خطی در نظر اب حیات

an anecdote being related of a discussion among learned men in the society of Sáhib Ibád[1], in which the cause of poetry was ably defended by Abu Muhammad Khâzin[2], whose declaration of the superior advantages he derived from the knowledge and practice of poetry, over his other studies of philology, divinity and traditional learning, decided the assembly in favour of the poetic art. The remainder of the chapter is illustrated by the many sayings of Muhammad (the Prophet) on the subject, and by quotations of Arabic and Persian verse from Abu Sheríf Ahmed Jorjání, and Abu Sâíd Mansúr bin Aásami. Finally, it reverts to the praise of Aín ul Mulk, to whom a whole page of adulation in prose and verse closes the chapter.

The 2nd and 3rd Chapters occupy only two pages each; the former, in explanation of the meaning of the word Shír, (verse,) affords nothing remarkable, and terminates also with the praise of the patron Vizir. Chapter III در معني اول كسي كه شعر گفت ascribes the first composition of verse to Adam, and relates the circumstances of the tradition at length, combating the arguments against its authenticity. The 4th Chapter proceeds to the inquiry, who first composed Persian verse, and attributes it, as usual, to King Behram Gúr, giving various specimens, and very briefly tracing the progress of the art through the dynasties of Tahir and Leis to the author's own time, the chapter occupying somewhat more than three pages. Having thus established the composition of poetry to have been first practised by royalty, Aúfi devotes a section of his book to the poems of sultans and princes; which therefore forms the subject of Chapter V. He commences with the Samanian dynasty, being, he says, the earliest of those princes who composed in verse. "They were nine in number, under whose reign, during eighty-seven years and six months[3], the provinces of Khorasan and Mawarannahr were well peopled, flourishing, and happy." He gives also the well-known memorial lines on their names, attributed to Ansari. The only one of them, however, who was himself a poet, he states to have been Ismail bin Núh bin Mansúr, the last of the race. A slight sketch of his history, and a short specimen of his poetic talent, are followed by the memoir of the celebrated Yemínuddaulah Mahmud, Sultan of Ghizni, and of his son, Abu Muhammad. Of the remaining twenty names of

[1] Sáhib Ismâîl Ibn Ibád, a Vizir under the Samanian dynasty.

[2] ابو محمد خازن كه مقاليد خزاين هنر در قبضهٔ بيان او بود

[3] This differs from the account given in the Khulásat ul Akhbár, and some other histories, but the duration of the dynasty is variously stated.

kings, princes, and emirs, contained in this chapter, we find few which are not familiar to us as royal poets in other Tazkirahs, where a chapter has been consecrated to their memory. Cábús bin Washmgír and his son Kai Kaus are followed by Sultan Atsiz and many well-known names of princes, chiefly of the Khárizmsháhí and Seljúkí race; Jelaluddin Sulaimanshah, nephew of Melekshah; Tekesh bin Arslan; Toghrul; Toghanshah; Kilij Arslan, &c. The chapter contains about forty pages, and ends with a prayer for the author's patron, Aín ul Mulk, which he has already taken an opportunity of introducing in one of the earlier memoirs of this chapter, when, in relating the death of the Emir Abul Muzaffar, (which took place A.H. 377,) he seems to have wished to avert the omen by pious supplication for his patron's health.

The Vizirs of the Sixth Chapter commence with those of the time of Mahmud bin Sabaktagín, and the first mentioned is Abul Kism bin al Husain. The celebrated Nizam ul Mulk and his son Abu Bekr follow. The Vizirs are succeeded by Kátibs and officers of state of inferior rank, and about thirty-six memoirs, some of them containing interesting historical particulars, are closed by that of Mejduddin Rashíd Azízi, one of the learned men of Khorasan in the time of Sultan Mâdúd, and employed at Iserár in the service of the Emir and Vizir Alá ul Mulk. At the conclusion of the history of this age of distinguished statesmen, Aúfi, as may be expected, does not lose the opportunity of paying an appropriate compliment to the great man, to whom his labours are dedicated, and declares that "the race of illustrious and virtuous Emirs and Viceroys and Judges has passed away, leaving none worthy of their fame and name, save only that 'second Asaf[1],' Vizir Aín ul Mulk, compared with whose wisdom the whole sum of the ministers and judges of the realms of Persia, when placed in the scale (again alluding to the interpretation of his name), is found deficient in weight."

The memoirs of the Judges (Chapter VII.) are arranged according to their birth-place or residence in the provinces of Mawaraunahr, Khorasan, Irac, and Ghizni and Lahor. Those of Khorasan are further divided into the cities of Balkh, Merv, and Nishapur, although many other towns of the same district have a place in each of these divisions. Nishapur presents the most numerous list, about thirty names. Among the poets of Merv is a relation of the Biographer, the same quoted in Auhadí's Tazkirah; the Cazi Abu Táhir Yahya, al Aúfi. The Judges, Cazis, Mullas, Imams, &c., of the Seventh Chapter

[1] Asaf, the vizir of Solomon, and the pattern for ministers in all succeeding ages.

amount in all to fifty-five, noticed in 110 pages of the manuscript. This completes the first half, نصف اول of the work, and thanks are returned, that by the favour of the Deity and the Prophet, and under the patronage of the Vizir, the first part of the Lubáb ul Albáb is happily concluded.

Chapter VIII has only twenty-five pages for nearly as many poets of the reigns of the Tahir, Leis, and Saman families. Dakíki of Tus[1], one of the most ancient poets, has a place in this chapter, though described in all biographies as attached to the Court of Ghizni. His appearance here, therefore, may be supposed to be from his birth-place being within the dominions of the princes of the above race. Extracts are given from various of his Casidahs, which are the more valuable, as mere fragments only have as yet been obtained from other works, and even his name is omitted in Daulatsháh's Tazkirah, though mentioned in the Behárístán.

The memoir of Rúdaki, the father of the Persian poets, forms an interesting portion of this chapter, and contains many particulars of his history, in addition to those, of which we are already in possession. He is here distinctly stated to have been blind[2], a circumstance which seems to have escaped observation, and which, indeed, I do not find related in any of the other Tazkirahs, although Rúdaki's life is given in all those which embrace the biography of his period. The Beharistan alone alludes to it, but so slightly as scarcely to have been remarked[3]. Notwithstanding his privation, being blind from birth, the poet's mental faculties were such, that at the age of eight years he learned the whole Coran by heart, and acquired the Caraát, or manner of reading it, which latter accomplishment, under the circumstances, may be considered perhaps even still more remarkable than the stretch of memory, which enabled him to be a Háfiz ul Curán. The testimony of various poets of his time is quoted in praise of the excel-

[1] شعر دقیقی از کار دقّ و تار دقّ دقیقتر است

This is only an accidental specimen of the play on words with which the memoirs are usually introduced throughout the work.

[2] بصر نداشت اما بصیرت داشت مکفوفی بود اسرار لطایف بروی مکشوف محجوبی بود از غایت لطف طبع محبوب چشم ظاهر بسته داشت اما چشم باطن گشاده از مادر نا بینا امده &c.

[3] The Beharistan merely says, از مادر نا بینا نزاده which, with many of the other particulars, agrees so literally with the words of the Lubáb, that Al Aufi's Tazkirah must have been used by Jami for this part of his work.

lence of his poetry, in which his compositions are said, on the authority of Rashídi, to have formed the contents of a hundred volumes, thus rivalling his wealth in worldly goods, which, we are told, were the travelling load of a thousand camels. Al Aufi's opinion seems decidedly in favour of the derivation of the name of Rúdaki from Rúdak, a village of Samarcand, his birthplace, and not from his musical talent, and instead of the ode and well-known anecdote in his biography by Jami and Daulatshah, of the Timotheus-like influence of his poetry on his patron king, some specimens are given here which, though not numerous, offer a pleasing variety to those of his composition which have already appeared. The whole memoir, one of the most elegantly written in the work, derives peculiar interest from thus assigning to the Blind Bard of Persia, the Sage, the Minstrel, and the Poet, an undisputed rank as the Homer, the Ossian, and the Milton of the East; a rank, to which he would otherwise be entitled both by the antiquity and extent of his poems, and the unrivalled superiority which has been accorded them by succeeding generations.

Chapter IX, در ذکر شعراء آل ناصر و این طبقهٔ اولند "I will now," says the biographer, "mention the poets of the Násirí Kings, from the beginning of the reign of Yemínuddaulah (Mahmud) to the end of that of Masaud Shahíd, being three sovereigns, and the duration of their rule, forty-seven years." He gives a slight sketch of the history of the dynasty from the foundation of its power by Sabaktagin, to the death of Masaud in the year 431; "after his reign," he says, "the greater part of Khorasan fell into the power of the Seljukian princes, to the poets of whose time I shall devote the Tenth Chapter, commencing the present one with Ansari, as the master and prince of poets, and the most ancient of this class." The memoir of Ansari is followed by that of Firdusi, which is one of the shortest in the book, and omits all historical account of him, probably as being already sufficiently well known, and confines itself to the praise of his great work, the Shah Nameh. As a specimen of his poetry are given four lines in praise of Mahmud[1], contrary to the

[1] در مدح سلطان یمین الدولة محمود قدس الله روحه

دو چیز بر تو بی خطر بینم
کانرا خطرست نزد هر مهتر
دینار چو بر نهی بسر بر تاج
در معرکه جان چو بر نهی مغفر

usual extracts from the celebrated satire; also a short fragment without title, which, as I have not found them in other Tazkirahs, I have quoted below[1]. Firdusi's other compositions in verse are stated by Al Aúfi, to have been but few, and no mention is made of the Yusuf and Zulaikha which bears his name.

The Memoirs of Ansari and Firdusi are followed by those of Asjadi, Ghazairi, and Asadi, their contemporaries at the Court of the Ghaznawide, and by those of many other ancient poets, of whom later biographers have not made mention. Five of the most brilliant names of that period follow one another in this chapter in immediate succession; those of Muîzzi of Nishapur, Azraki, Abul Wási called Jabali, Hakím Jauhari of Herat, Adíb Sábir, and Anwari. Of Azraki and Muizzi are given perhaps the longest extracts in the whole collection, extending through ten and twelve pages. Next to these, the extracts of the poet Rúhi (روحی) are the longest, exhibiting whole Casidahs, on various subjects. This chapter is also divided under geographical heads, of which the poets already mentioned, with others of the province of Khorasan, altogether nearly forty names, compose the first Fasl. Mawarannahr, Irac, and Ghazni, comprising also Lahor, are the other divisions. Of these, there are six poets of Mawarannahr, nine of Irac, and fourteen of the mountainous districts; in all, sixty-three memoirs, occupying, with their extracts, about 170 pages. This may be considered the most interesting portion of Al Aúfi's Tazkirah, as containing some of the

[1] وله

بسی رنج دیدم بسی گفته خواندم
ز گفتار تازی و از پهلوانی
بچندین هنر شست و دو سال بودم
که توشه برم ز اشکار و نهانی
بجز حسرت و جز وبال گناهان
ندارم کنون از جوانی نشانی
بیاد جوانی کنون مویه دارم
بران بیت بو طاهر خسروانی
جوانی من از کودکی یاد دارم
دریغا جوانی دریغا جوانی

greatest names in Persian Poetry, and enabling us, on comparison with other authors, to ascertain from whence these latter derive their materials. The notices of Amac of Bokhara, and Súzani of Samarcand, among the poets of Mawarannahr, are accompanied by extracts, which are highly valuable from the loss of their diwans. The names which follow, are mostly so well known to us, either in biography or from their works, that the very brief notice of them, which in this sketch would be confined almost to a bare enumeration, would be without interest, or utility. The most celebrated are Hakím Catrán, Khacáni, Asír of Akhsíkat, Abul Farah, and Masâúdi Saâd Selmán.

Chapter X appears to be omitted in the copy, or some confusion has occurred in the arrangement, which does not agree with the Table of Contents, for, page 504, immediately on the termination of Chapter IX, commences Chapter XI, "On the Poets of the present period," *i. e.* the author's own time. It is divided, as in Chapters VII and IX, according to provinces, containing sixteen poets of Khorasan, fifteen of Mawarannahr, six of Irac, and six of Ghizni and Lahor, and its contents fill ninety-five pages.

The most celebrated of these names are Feríduddin Attár, Rafí' uddín Lobnání, Abdurrazzác of Isfahan, and Nizami of Ganjah. The memoirs in the whole work, exclusive, of course, of the lost chapter, may be upwards of two hundred and fifty.

The 12th Chapter is on the Poets of the Court[1], at which Al Aúfi, or his patron lived, and which he represents to be "thronged by wise and learned men, as thickly as the heavens are studded with stars, or a garden with blooming flowers." Having, however, acquaintance with but few of these poets, he limits the number of their memoirs to three, and of these even, the lacunes left by the copyist will not permit us an accurate knowledge. The name of the first is omitted, but the specimen given of his composition is a Casidah in the form called Sawál Jawáb[2], in praise of that "Sun of the heaven of rectitude," *i. e.* the Vizir, Aín ul Mulk.

The second memoir is of a certain scribe, one Muhammad of

[1] در ذکر لطایف اشعار صدور و افاضل که بدین حضرت مخصوصند و بدین دولت موسوم

[2] سوال و جواب A beauty of Persian rhetoric, by which the poet and his mistress or any other person are introduced in dialogue; the repetition of the "said I," and "said he," in a poem exceeding the length of a ghazal, becomes insupportable. In this specimen it is carried on through thirty-two couplets.

Balkh, whose calligraphic powers it represents as being beyond the reach of Ibn ul Bawwáb[1] himself, and that Ibn Muclah[2] would have been unable to restrain his eye from contemplating the beauties of his handwriting. It bestows equal praise on all his other acquirements, as well as on the suavity of his manners and his kind disposition, and sums up the excellence of his gifts, by his being admitted as one of the poets of the Court and panegyrist of the Sáhibkirán[3]. Zíá uddín Sanjari is the subject of the third and last memoir, which, however, is so imperfect in the MS. that no particulars can be obtained from it. There appears only a single Casidah of his composition, and this, as might be expected both from the vocation of the poet and the enthusiasm of his biographer, is again in praise of Aín ul Mulk.

The last two pages of the manuscript are the Khatam ul Kitáb, (Conclusion,) under which head we have a few words of apology from Al Aufi for introducing a Casidah, "the offspring of his own weak imagination." This piece consists of thirty-three distichs, imperfect in two places to the extent of four or five lines together. It rhymes throughout in ين and the subject, it is almost superfluous to remark, is, for the twentieth time, the praise of Aín ul Mulk!

Who this Aín ul Mulk is, whose praises are repeated "lectoris ad fastidium" in every part of the volume, I am as yet unable to state, for however frequently mention is made of him by the author, there is nothing said either of the country which he adorned by his virtues, or of the prince whose councils he directed by his wisdom and advice. The name of the Vizir, divested of the overwhelming mass of honourable additions, which in the ambiguous phraseology of Eastern dedication might pass equally well as honorific titles, or as mere epithets qualifying their object, appears to be Husain, with the surname of Aín ul Mulk, son of Abu Bekr al Ashârí, or perhaps at full length thus, Aín ul Mulk, Fakhr uddaulah wa uddín Abúl Mubárik Husain bin Sherf il Mulk Razí iddaulah wa iddín Abi Bekr il

[1] الاجل المحترم شمس الدولة و الدين سيد النجبا تاج الفضلا معجز الاقدام (مفخر القدما) محمد الكاتب البلخي

[2] ابن مقلة—ابن البواب Ibn Muclah and Ibn ul Bawwáb were two celebrated calligraphs; the former, the Vizir of the Khalif Muctadir, is said to have invented the Naskhi character, and the latter to have improved it.

[3] The epithet Sáhibkirán here seems intended for the Vizir.

الاجل فخر الشعرا ضياء الدين السنجري

Ashârí[1]. The history of this personage, whose various appellations, thus grouped together, are quite sufficient to point him out in a more extensive inquiry than I have at present the means of instituting, may enable us also to obtain some particulars of the life of Al Aúfi himself, which at present remains in as great obscurity as those of his patron, and of his prince. I have in vain searched for him, both as Muhammad and as Aúfi, in all the memoirs to which I have had access, and in which he would be entitled to a place as a poet; and a hasty perusal of the Tazkirahs of Auhadi and of Walih, both of which contain numerous references to his works, produced no additional information, nor any guide for assisting further search[2]. The court poets Al Aúfi commemorates, are so few in number, their names so difficult to be recognized, and their memoirs so scanty, that even from that chapter we gain nothing. A minute and attentive examination of the section devoted to Contemporaneous Poets might indeed furnish some dates, and be supposed to fix the era more accurately; but the evidence would, at best, be little more than negative, as the year of these poets' death is but rarely marked[3], and we should not, probably, be able to extend the period with any certainty beyond the date already recorded, viz., of the Hijrah 600 = A.D. 1202-3. After all, the information we seek for must be obtained from contemporaneous history, for the careful

[1] Among Baron Hammer-Purgstall's MSS., No. 80, is لب الالباب "Mark des Markes" (Marrow of Marrow), a collection of tales, anecdotes, &c., by "the Imam Abul Hasan Ahmed b. Ibrahim, Al *Ashâarí;*" a coincidence in the surname, on which, of course, nothing is to be founded. اشعری is explained in Ibn Khallikan's life of Abul Hasan Ashârí (*qy.* the author just mentioned), to mean "descended from Ashâr, *i.e.*, from "Nabt, surnamed *Ashâr*, or the *hairy.*"—De Slane's Translation, Vol. II.

Al Makkari, the African historian of Spain, was also called Al Ashârí; on the derivation of which name, see "Notes to the Translation," &c., by Don P. de Gayangos, Vol. I.

With respect to Muhammad Aúfi's name, it must, of course, be supposed to refer to جبل عوف in Syria, *v.* Abulfeda's Geogr:—Hajji Khalfa's *Haufi* would be a native, or inhabitant of the *Hauf* in Egypt, *v.* Relation de l'Egypte, par Abdallatif, &c.

[2] The copy I have used of Auhadi's Tazkirah being, as mentioned in the notice later, imperfect, I am unable to extend the search for Al Aúfi's life, which might possibly have been found under the letter M (Muhammad). The Riázat does not give it under either letter, and it is possible that the use of an imperfect copy of his authority was also the reason of its omission.

[3] No mention is made of the date or circumstances of Attár's death, which took place in the general massacre by the Mongols; and Mr. Elliott's inference that the author of the Tazkirah wrote before, or did not survive, the invasion of Jingizkhan, is thus very materially supported.

examination the volume seems to have undergone before it was communicated to me, leaves little hope of obtaining from the work itself, unassisted by other research, the particulars of the life of its author, or of the patrons under whose protection he wrote and to whom he dedicated "The earliest Biography of Persian Poets."

In the absence of historical illustration of the work and its author, I may add some further description of the manuscript in which it is contained.

The MS. has no date, nor note by whom or where the transcript was made. Its appearance betokens some degree of age, and the leaves, which are of a fine silky texture of paper, have been carefully inlaid, preserving a few additions in the margin, and occasional corrections, which seem to be those of the first copyist. The writing is a bold and good Nastaâlic, and would bespeak an Eastern and not an Indian scribe. It seems to have been made from a very ancient copy, which had been in part illegible or damaged, as there are, especially towards the end, lacunes extending in some places to the half or more of five or six lines following. These defects do not appear before the last twenty leaves of the volume, which in all other respects (save also the few leaves occasionally wanting, as already mentioned, a few words destroyed by worm-holes, and slight damage from damp in the first two pages of the preface), is in beautiful condition. I regret not to have obtained from its present owner the information from whence the copy came, or any particulars concerning its previous history.

II.

خلاصة الاشعار و زبدة الافكار

After a lapse of nearly four centuries of the Hijrah, during which time appeared, almost contemporaneously, the Tazkirahs of Jami, Daúlatshah, and Ali Shir, and, somewhat later, that of Sám Mirza; we have a Biography of Poets, called Khulásat ul Ashâár, or, familiarly, the Tazkirah of Mír Takí Káshi.

The copy described here is a manuscript in my own collection, and the only one of which I have any knowledge[1]. It is a small quarto containing 562 leaves, very closely written. An analysis of the author's preface will give the history of the composition of the work, and serve also as a specimen of his style.

After the praise of the Deity, that Beautiful One, that Merciful One, that All-loving and Beneficent One, and entreaty for the favour

[1] In Sir William Ouseley's Catalogue of MSS. No. 506, described "Zubdet el Shaar, an admirable work on Persian Poetry," is probably a copy of the same.

and protection of Al Cásim Muhammad bin Abdallah, (the Prophet), he proceeds to the "praise and supplication of the Padisháhi Islám, (the Emperor)," whom he styles "the Sultan of Sultans, the Khacan of Khacans, the shadow of God on earth, ruler of sea and land, the greatest of the Golden Meadows of the twelve Imams, the sincere servant of Ali bin Abi Tálib; the victorious King, the Sultan, the son of a Sultan, the son of a Sultan, Abú'l Fat'h Abú'l Nasr Abúl Muzaffar Sháh Tahmásp Bahádur Khán." The original of this inflated exordium occupies three full pages.

After which, the author, naming himself Takí uddín Muhammad bin Sherfuddín Ali al Husaini al Káshání, introduces himself to the "Jupiter-like lords of penetration and knowledge, and the Mercury-acting possessors of intelligence and discernment," and informs them, that he had long collected the poems of ancient and modern writers, and made careful extracts from each of their Diwans, and collected anecdotes of their love, and adorned his subject with narrative and tale. He then congratulates himself on the beauty of his composition, the poetry of which he compares (in verse) to the speech of the admired one to the admirer, and its prose to the plaintive accents of despairing love: "For, of a truth," says he, "without the slightest circumlocution or exaggeration, it is a Bostan (or Orchard), the balm of whose flowers perfumes the brain of the soul; and it is a Gulistan (or Rose-garden), the scent of whose blossoms exalts the spirit with its fragrance. The warblers of this Rose-garden are the parrots of the sugar-bowl of eloquence and improvisation; and the Turtledoves of this orchard are lofty flying birds from the nest of rhetoric and wit." His object was next to choose a patron, under the sanction of whose name his book might obtain immortality, or, in his own words, "last till the day of judgment." This laudable wish was accomplished in the beginning of the year 1006 of the Hijrah, when the copy of the work was finished, and the dedication made to "his Excellence, blessed with auspicious horoscope, endowed with justice, moderation, bravery, and dignity; that Adam in form, Noah in manners, Enoch in purity, Abraham in fidelity; of virtue like Joseph, a Solomon in magnificence; in loftiness Jemshid, in pomp Sekander; the accomplished Padishah, that benignant shower of justice, and compendium of generosity; Saturn of the sphere, Jupiter in station, Mars in valour; resembling the Sun in splendour, Venus in delightfulness, Mercury in energy, the Moon in loftiness; whose cavalry is thunder, and whose footsteps lightning; whose affluence is a dropping cloud, and whose beneficence a fertilizing rain; the great Sultan, the lord of the world, ruling the necks of the people, master of the Kings of

Arabia and Persia, monarch of the kingdoms of both Continents and both Seas, asylum of Sultans and Princes, friend of Islam and the Prophets, manifestator of the sublime word of God, and adorned with his gifts; Abúl Muzaffar Al Muayyad Ibrahim Aádilshah[1]."

The conclusion is in verse, expressing his hope that the book may be "honoured by the inspection of his Highness and the courtiers and attendants of his circle, the empire of eloquence and rhetoric; so that, instead of remaining a worthless and unvalued atom in the depth of non-existence and obscurity, it may rise like the world-illuming sun to the pinnacle of meridian ascension; and although now a star, hidden and veiled among the constellations, it may through favour become a full moon pointed at by the learned of the age."

Finally, in compliance with the practice of authors of all times, he chooses an auspicious name for his book, and calls it the "Cream of Poesies and Buttermilk of Conceits[2]," and divides it into an Introduction (*Mucaddamah*), four Preliminary Chapters (*Fasl*), four Sections or Books (*Rukn*, column), and a Conclusion (*Khátimah*).

The Mucaddamah, or Introduction, gives, as usual, the author's reasons for undertaking his present work; preceded by verses of Jami, Maulawi Rumi, and some of his own.

Four Fasls, or sections, follow, on the properties and attributes of Love. First, on the eternal and inherent quality of Love, as derived from the Creator. Second, in explanation of the real nature and excellence of Love, and in refutation of those who misapply the name to other passions. Third, Love distinguished as Nefsání or Rúhání (spiritual), and Jismání (sensual); and on the seven qualities essential to the true lover, viz., secrecy, unity of object, single-mindedness, ardency of affection, jealousy, submission (to the will of the beloved), and unqualified admiration. Fourth Fasl, The characteristics of Love as exhibited in the beloved one; secrecy, chastity, retirement from the converse of men; modesty. This metaphysical disquisition is illustrated by numerous quotations from Arabic and Persian authors, extracts of Sufi poetry, and appropriate anecdote; and, although it would seem somewhat misplaced as an introduction to a biography, it is probably intended by the author to characterize his work, which he

[1] The Suhuf, in Taki's life, calls his patron, to whom he dedicates "Ibrahim Aádilsháh Bíjápúrí," V. Lit. Hindoui, &c., p. 238; that is, of Vizapur in India, which would suppose the author to have visited that country; but no such event is related by his biographer, nor does it appear from his own preface.

[2] Khulásat ul Ashâár wa Zubdat ul Afkár. It is often difficult to translate, at all literally, the titles of Eastern works, without producing something ludicrous in our idiom.

has already announced his intention of "embellishing with the loves of the poets," as well as with their worldly life and literary occupation. These four chapters occupy about thirty pages, and are succeeded by a Persian commentary of the compiler on an Arabic poem of Ali Ibn Ali Tálib, interpreted line for line, filling twenty-three pages. A Láhicah (لاحقه), or additional remark, follows, in which Taki speaks of the division of speech into prose and verse; of the different kinds of verse (but without entering into any details of prosody), and of the difference of skill exhibited by poets in the various branches of the art; of some, whom he considers to have been masters in all; others, who excelled, severally, in Casidah, Ghazal, Mesnawi, and Kitâh. The glory of Mesnawi he assigns, with justice, to Firdusi and Nizami; but seems to show some undue partiality to his countryman, Muhtasham of Kashan, in giving him a place among those who were distinguished in *all* the various styles of writing.

The grand division of the biography is into four books (Rukn), of which the first book is again divided into two parts (Mujallad).

Rukn I. The ancient poets from the time of the dynasty of Sabaktagîn, arranged according to the date of their death, with an account of their lives and loves, and extracts from their Diwans. The first Rukn contains fifty-four poets, and is divided into two Mujallads.

Mujallad I. Twenty-four poets, chiefly Casidah writers, who distinguished themselves in their time ("bore away the ball of poetic imagery from the hippodrome of eloquence"). The earliest is Ansari, and the latest, Cawámi of Ganjah[1]. This chapter contains all the most celebrated names of ancient poets, Asadí, Násir Khusrú, Abúlfarah, Masúd Saad Selman, Azraki, Mûizzi, Watwát, Feleki, and Khacáni; which, with the other memoirs, fill nearly a hundred pages. It closes with maxims and advice, occupying about six leaves.

Mujallad II. The remaining writers of Casidah, thirty; from Zahíruddin Faryábi to Afzal Káshi[2]. This series includes Nizámi, Attár, Kemál of Isfahan, Jelaluddin Rúmi, &c., 150 pages.

Rukn II. (which is also Mujallad III.) contains the older "Ghazal singers, and some also of their contemporaries who wrote Casidahs, more than forty poets (there are forty-four)." Saadi commences this series, in which it is difficult to see the propriety of the arrangement, as distinguished from the preceding. The last poet in the list is Shah

[1] The brother, or, as some say, cousin of Shaikh Nizami.
[2] Zahíruddin died A.H. 598, and Afzaluddin of Kashan, A.H. 666.

Shujáá Kirmáni, of whom a very long and historically interesting memoir is given. This division of the work is prefaced by a dedication to Shah Abbas Safawi, who is here glorified in prose and verse, in a manner similar to the dedication of the first portion of the Tazkirah.

Rukn III. (Mujallad IV.) gives the more modern writers of Ghazal and Casidah; the first in the series is Hafiz, and the last Maulana Fenáí (d. 893); forty-eight poets. This book is prefaced by a chapter on the three Sufi classes of Wásilan, Sálíkan, and Mukíman[1], a subject fully explained in Jami's Nafahát ul Uns.

Rukn IV. (Mujallad V.) "Poets of the time of Sultan Husain Mirza, being the period at which this work was composed. Above a hundred poets, Sahib Diwan." These commence with Jami and Ali Shir, and end with Ghazáli of Meshhed, who died 970.

I have given the contents of these five divisions according to the index furnished in the preface. The fourth Rukn (fifth Mujallad) is wanting in my manuscript, which otherwise is perfect, and the omission seems to have been made by the scribe, as the copy, without interruption, proceeds immediately to the Khátimah, which commences on the same page. I am inclined to think that the work, as originally published, formed five volumes, and that the copyist, in this case, had not access to a complete set."

The Khatimah is preceded by the usual forms, Praise of the Deity, of Muhammad, of Ali, of the Monarch of Islam, and Munáját, or Prayers; then, after the eulogy of the blessings of speech, and the gift of eloquence and poetry, the author states his wish to add to the memoirs of the poets who lived before his time, an account also of his contemporaries. He divides them into twelve chapters (اصل) "the number of the signs of the Zodiac," according to the several cities or districts of which they were natives. Each Asl, or birthplace, is further arranged under two heads, (*Fasl*); contemporaries still living, or those of somewhat earlier date, and since dead. The twelve Asls are, "1. Kashan; 2. Isfahan; 3. Cúm; 4. Sávah and

[1] مقیمان — سالکان — واصلان

[2] The only note of transcription in the MS. is at the end of the second Mujallad, "finished on Wednesday, 21st of Ramazan, 1038;" and of the fourth Mujallad, "finished Muharram, 1039" (= 1627 A.D.) I was at one time induced to suppose the MS. to be the author's original copy, which these dates would easily permit; but there is no note of its being his autograph, and the omission of one of the volumes would seem to imply it to be a transcript.

adjacent places; 5. Cazwin; especially noticing the most celebrated Princes, Sultans, and Vizirs, who lived there in the time of Shah Tahmasp; 6. The provinces of Gilan and Dar ul Marz; 7. Tabriz and other towns of Azarbaijan; 8. Kirman and parts adjacent; 9, 10, and 11, are not distinguished by rubric in the manuscript, but appear to be divided between the towns of Yezd, Shiraz, and Hamadan. Three more chapters under the title of *Láhicah*, supply the poets of Baghdad, Jerbadcan, and Khonsar, and further additions give those of Rey and Asterabad, besides the natives of many other towns and provinces; following an arrangement far from distinct, or in accordance with the heading of the several chapters.

The author, whose labours of compilation seemed destined to be unceasing, and whose zeal in commemorating his fellow poets could scarcely be restrained within the limits either of time or form of composition, again addresses himself to the "Jupiter-like and world-enlightening minds" of his readers, to inform them, that the acquisition of new materials since the completion of his work, and especially from such of his contemporaries as commenced writing since that period, and who now allowed him a sight of their Diwans, with permission to make extracts for his Tazkirah, had determined him to add a (second) Khatimah. Many copies of his book being already published, and circulated in Irac and Khorasan, he had no other means of adding to it, and, at the same time, of making corrections. His second Khatimah, then, contains the poetry, without memoir, of sixty authors, who had either been omitted in the earlier arrangement, or with whose history he was before unacquainted. They are in alphabetical order, according to the Takhallus, and fill about fifty pages. Takiuddin's own poetry appears among them, under the letter ذ, Zikri being his poetic name[1]."

Finally, a Zíl, or sequel to the appendix, contains the author's reflections on his work, and his self-gratulation at the fulfilment of his task, after devoting his life to the subject of poetry and its history, and having now arrived at the fiftieth year of his age. He then gives a Quatrain, recording the date from the pen of that chronogrammatist

[1] ذکری Under the head of Zikri, in D'Herbelot, we find, "Takieddin Al-Hosseini, nom d'un auteur qui a écrit la Vie de cinq Poëtes Persiens dont il a revu et publié les ouvrages. Ces cinq poëtes sont Amak, Souzeni, Reschidi, Feleki, et Omadi." Possibly D'Herbelot, or the author he followed, had seen a fragment of Takieddin's work, containing only these five lives. They occur nearly together in the first Rukn of the Tazkirah, thus: *Amac*, Senáí, Illáhi, Muhtasham, *Súzaní*, Abdurrazzác, Hasan, *Amádi*, *Rashíduddín* Watwát, *Feleki*.

Amir Rafíuddín Muâmmáí[1]. After this, however, Taki observes, that so many lives of ancient and modern authors were inserted in his Tazkirah, subsequently to its completion in its original form, and the book had become "so bulky and corpulent," the extracts amounting altogether to 350,000 couplets, that it was found necessary to add another volume, or Mujallad, to the five already arranged; and, at length, in 1016 of the Hijrah, exhausted with his long and laborious compilations, which had occupied him during thirty years, he resolved to "bar against himself the door of Tazkirah-writing and end his troubles of authorship, nor, from that day, insert in the archives of his Tazkirah another name or verse." Upon which he improvised the following Tarikh:

لازم شده در یقین تصنیف
جلد ششمین برای ناظم
زیرا که اضافهاست در وی
از شعر اصاغر و اعاظم
چون گشت تمام این مجلد
یکبار دگر بسعیء خادم
تاریخ نگار از آن سبب گفت
شدست مجلدات لازم [2]

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[1] چون پنج کتاب تقی تذکره شیخ
در مخزن جلد جا گرفتند چو گنج
تا هر یکرا درست باشد تاریخ
بر پنج کتاب تقی افزودم بپنج

The words underlined give the date 988.

In the life of the poet Sádic, in the second Appendix, he says it was then the year 988, when he was engaged in completing his collection; yet at a much earlier stage of his work, the end of Mujallad II., he says, "Up to the present year, 1015," &c. Was this copy made, perhaps, from different editions of the separate parts? This would account for the discrepancy of dates, and be supported by the omission of a part already mentioned.

[2] This line, as it stands, does not agree with the date, but by omitting the first two letters, forming the word شد, the remainder would make exactly 1016. In the first line, I read شده for شد in the MS., and یقین for یقت

Mir Taki is named as an authority in the preface to the Taskirah of Táhir, in the Khazánahi Aámirah, and the Khulásat ul Kelám. (No. XII.) He is also very frequently quoted in the Suhuf, and a short notice of his life is given in that work. The memoir, however, contains no additional information, being chiefly confined to the general characteristics of his book and the merits of his poetry. On the latter, indeed, the Suhuf does not bestow much praise, and observes, that neither his name nor specimens of his composition have found their way into later compilations.

The Khazanah mentions the work thus; "Khátimahi Khulásat ul Ashâár, the Tazkirah of Mir Takí Káshí, the date of the completion of which is 993." This seems to allude only to the Appendix, as being all that was accessible; probably an imperfect copy. However, the date is that of the earlier portion of the work, or perhaps the earlier edition.

Tahir merely gives the name, Mir Takí Kashí, as an author consulted. The Khulásat ul Kelam cites, in its Preface, the full title of the work.

Takí's Tazkirah is very important, both from its early date, and the care bestowed by the author on its arrangement. The memoirs also are frequently of some extent, and the critical observations full and interesting. Perhaps one of the most remarkable criticisms is where, on the occasion of his disputing an opinion of Daulatshah, as to the period at which two poets flourished, he calls that author's work "an erroneous, or faulty composition[1]. The passage occurs in the life of Bedr Sháshí of Cazwin, in the 4th Book, and is important, as a proof of the care with which Taki examined his authorities, and also as a remarkable exception to the unqualified praise usually bestowed on Daulatshah. It is much to be regretted, that Taki has not followed the usual practice of enumerating in his preface the authors he

[1] اما امیر دولتشاه در کتاب سهویه که موسومست بتذکرة الشعرا آورده که —

and adds,

این سخن صاجب تذکرة همانا اصلی ندارد

A former proprietor of the MS. has endeavoured to vindicate Daulatshah from so general a censure by suggesting مشهورة as a reading for سهوية, but the writing of this copy is so distinct, and the absence of points so unusual, that there seems no doubt of the text; the epithet also, as it now stands, being more likely to be applied where the criticism which follows is unfavourable.

had consulted, as we should probably have met with the names of some of the ancient biographies, which would have been familiar to him at so early a period.

III.

عرفات و غرفات عاشقين

و عرصات و عرضات عارفين

The next work on biography is the Tazkirah of Takí Auhadí, and is a very large thick folio in the library of the East India House[1].

The author's name at length, as given in his preface, is Takí bin Mûínuddín bin Saâduddín Muhammad al Husainí al Auhadí al Daccákí al Balbání al Isfahání[2]; that is, of the Husainí branch of Sayyids, born at Balbán, and residing at Isfahan; the names Auhadí and Daccákí refer to his ancestors and family. He describes himself as descended by seven steps from the Shaikh ul Masháïkh Ghaws ul Zemán, Shaikh Auhaduddín Abdullah bin Zíáiddín Masâúd al Fársí[3] al Balbání, and through him from Shaikh Ibn Ali Daccáki[4], in lineal descent from the Imam Musa Kázim.

The preface is of unusual length, occupying nearly thirty-six pages, of which about two-thirds are devoted to the author's life (كيفية حال و ظهور احوال), his birth being on Charshambah (the day of the month is not given), in Muharram, 973 of the Hijrah, in the reign of Shah Tahmasp, the son of Ismail. The narrative then enters very circumstantially into the history of his family, and all the particulars of his education. His father died during his childhood, and he remained under the care of his mother, whom he also lost

[1] Biblioth. Leyden.

[2] To be distinguished from his predecessor Takí Káshí, whose work has just been described. Takí Káshí's poetic name was Zikri; Auhadi used his name, Takí, as his Takhallus. In his Tazkirah, he says,

گوهرم پاک و منتقي آمد

نامم از آسمان تقي آمد

[3] غوث الزمان شيخ اوحد الدين عبد الله بن ضيا الدين مسعود الفارسي

[4] It is a little difficult to fix this name from the MS., where it appears also sometimes to be Wafác, Wacác, Wacáf. The surname Dakák is found in some of the memoirs of Ibn Khalican,—De Slane's Translation.

when at the age of twelve years; after which the orphan was adopted by his preceptor, the Maulana Míreáy, under whom, and with the instruction of other learned men, he pursued his various studies. These he commenced at the early age of five years, by "planting his footsteps in the wilderness of grammar, logic, jurisprudence, and geometry, and then passing on to the valley of divine and moral philosophy." He describes himself as having applied so diligently to all his studies, as to have been "quite free from the propensity to play and sport, which usually distracts the attention and engages the time of children." At the age of twenty (A.H. 995), we find him in the camp of Muhammad Khudabendeh, and subsequently presented to the young Abbas. Taki Auhadí's taste for poetry had been evinced at a very early age, but had been discouraged by his friends in favour of the more severe studies of science. In later life he indulged his poetic inclination by compiling an anthology, which he named Firdúsi Khayáli Auhadí, of which the value of the letters contains also the date[1]. This was arranged at the suggestion of his friend Haidar Hamdáni (جهدانی), who accompanied him on a journey to India, and it contained all the specimens of poetry he had collected in the six years between Shiraz and Guzarat. Afterwards, when staying at Agrah, one of the nobles of Jehangir's court induced him to remodel his work, and to accompany the extracts with memoirs of the several authors quoted. Thus completed, he named his Tazkirah, "Urfát u ghurfáti âáshikín wa ârsát u ârzáti âárifín[2]." The biography is divided into twenty-eight Arsahs (عرصه) each containing one letter of the alphabet, and the general division is into three Urfahs (عرفه); viz., of the ancient poets; those of a middle age; and those more modern.

A memoir of Auhadí is given in the Ríázat ul Shuârá and also in the Suhuf, to both of which, as well as to the Khazanah, this work has lent its assistance as an authority. The Suhuf adds some particulars to those we obtain from the autobiography; viz., that he was the son of Sayyid Abdullah, and was called Auhadí because descended from that learned man of his time, Shaikh Auhad Daccác; that he was attached to the court of Shah Abbas, and in the year 1050, in the reign of Jehangir, went to India, where he devoted himself to the

[1] "Auhadí's Garden (or Paradise) of Imagination." فردوس خیال = 991.

[2] One of those titles, in which, as in those of many Arabic books, the translatable sense is sacrificed to a sort of rhythm, if not rhyme. The work is generally quoted, more concisely, as the Urfátu'l Áâshikín wa Ârsátu'l Áârifín, also, familiarly, the Urfát.

composition of the work known as the Tazkirahi Taki Auhadí, and finished it at Guzarat. The extracts in it amounted to eighty thousand couplets. He composed also another Taskirah, abridged from the larger one, and called it Kaábahi Irfán[1]. This Taskirah the author of the Suhuf had not seen, but says, "Ali Culi Khan Wálih in the Riazat ul Shuara writes, that it contains many foolish tales, and Sirájuddín Ali Khan Arzu[2] says no book has been seen with such copious contents, but that it stood in need of a second revisal. With all this, Auhadí was a man of noble family, and a distinguished Sufi. He was particularly skilled in lexicography, and composed a Persian dictionary called Surmahi Sulaimán[3], founded on the Burháni Cáti. They say his complete works amounted to more than thirty thousand couplets, and contained among other pieces, a Mesnawi, called Yácúb u Yusúf, and a Sákí Námah, called Nisár u Khumár[4]." The life by Ali Culi Khan is similar, but not so full, the author of the Suhuf having added many particulars from later sources.

One of the principal merits of Auhadí's Taskirah, to readers who may not have access to Al Aufi's, is, that it preserves much of the materials of that more ancient and scarcer work, of which, it may be seen from the frequent quotation of its author's name, Taki Auhadí has made very diligent use.

The volume of Auhadí's Tazkirah in the Library of the East India House extends only to the first six memoirs of letter ق.

The copy used by the author of the Khazanah contained only from ص to ی, and he mentions that another compiler, Arzú, had also only an imperfect MS. of Auhadí. The work seems therefore to be seldom found complete.

[1] کعبهٔ عرفان "The Kaábah," or "Temple of the Learned," or "of Knowledge."

[2] In the Mejmá ul Nefáïs, noticed later.

[3] سرمهٔ سلیمان Surmeh, or Collyrium for the eyes of Sulaiman; probably, in compliment to Shah Sulaiman Safawi, to whom perhaps it was dedicated.

[4] نثار و خمار

IV.

تذكرۂ نصرابادي

The Tazkirah of Táhir of Nasrábád[1], of which there is a copy in the library of the British Museum, and another in the private collection of Mr. Cureton[2].

A preface, written with much elegance, introduces the subject of poetry, considered either as praiseworthy, or subject to blame, and illustrates it by arguments adduced on both sides of the question in an assembly of learned friends. This is a theme frequently brought forward in works on this subject; the enemies of poetry grounding their opposition on the severe censure on that art, passed on it by Muhammad in tradition and in the Coran, while its practice is defended in a more attractive manner, if with less orthodoxy, by the eulogies bestowed by the poets themselves on their favourite pursuit, affording innumerable quotations.

Mirza Táhir then states his desire to compose a Tazkirah, in imitation of his predecessors Al Aufi, Alishir, Sam Mirza, Daulatshah, Mulla Súfi[3], and Taki Kashi, the object of which should be to commemorate such of his contemporaries, as were authors of a complete Diwan, or those who even occasionally composed in verse. At the suggestion of some persons of taste, he was induced to add a selection of enigmas, riddles, and chronograms[4], from ancient as well as modern writers, of which class no collection had been previously made; and this addition he considered would much increase the interest and merit of his work. He commenced his compilation in A.H. 1183, and dedicated to Shah Sulaiman Safawi. The divisions of the work are thus arranged;—

An introduction (Mucaddamah) on the poetry of Kings and Princes.

Section 1st (صف, Seriés). On Emirs, Khans, Vizirs, Scribes, and

[1] I have used the latter MS.; it is an octavo volume, containing 760 pages, written in an Indian hand, without any name or date of transcription. Both copies, which are in all respects very similar, both in form and in handwriting, are furnished with an index, placed before the preface, and referring to the page by figures.

[2] ميرزا طاهر نصرابادي

[3] Author of the Tazkirah called Maikhánah u Butkhánah, noticed later.

[4] لغز — معما — تاريخ

others, employed in the Imperial Defterkhaneh; and who were also poets; in three chapters, (فرقه).

1st; The Emirs and Khans of Iran. Chapter 2nd; Those of Hindustan. 3rd; Secretaries, Clerks, and Scribes of the Imperial Registry.

Chapter II. Sayyids, Nejíbs, and others of that class.

Chapter III. Account of wise and learned men, in three divisions. 1st; Wise and learned men of Iran. 2nd; Calligraphs (خوشنویسان). 3; Fakirs and Derwishes.

Section 4th. Standard Poets.

1. Poets of Iran and Khorasan.
2. Poets of Mawarannahr.
3. Poets of Hindustan.

Section 5th. The author's family.

Khatimah. On the Enigmas, Riddles, and Chronograms, of ancient and modern writers, in two parts (رقعه). 1st; Those whose author is known: and 2nd; Those which cannot be assigned to their author; each part divided further under the three heads of Chronogram, Riddle, and Enigma.

The first memoir in the Mucaddamah is that of Shah Abbas, followed by Shah Abbas II., and a few princes of the Safide family. The Emirs and other dignitaries of the 1st Saff, or series, are nearly a hundred and fifty, containing few names of any interest. The contents of the second series are above a hundred memoirs. Those of the third section, about two hundred and twenty, are also of little interest, except, perhaps, the short chapter which notices some distinguished calligraphic writers of Tahir's time. There are nine of them, with a few poetic specimens. Those bearing the title of Standard Poets are very numerous, but, with the exception of Tálib Kelím and a few others, they are little known to us as having so high a reputation.

The Persian poets of Hindustan, forming the third and last subdivision of the fourth section, are seventeen in number, natives of Kashmir, Lahor, and other parts; of whom some appear in M. de Tassy's Biographical work, and some few also are in the chapter of the Atesh Kedah which is devoted to native Persian writers of India.

The whole of the poets given by Tahir exceed a thousand, but the greater number of them have enjoyed scarcely more than ephemeral fame, and their merits to have been little appreciated except by their contemporaries. On the whole, the author of this Tazkirah, like Sam Mirza, his predecessor in biography, seems to have

considered less the worthiness, than the number of the writers he recorded, and his object to have been either to array a longer series of names[1] than were contained in other works, or, by enhancing the merits of his contemporaries, to throw lustre on the age and reign in which he himself lived.

The fifth book gives short memoirs of some of the author's relations (seven), of which number Mirza Ahsan Ali was half-brother to Tahir's father; Mirza Sálih, his father's cousin; and Mirza Ismail, the son of Mirza Muhammad Nasrabadi, Tahir's own cousin. Nearly all were of Nasrabad, and most of them either accompanied or followed their relation to India, in which country, as well as in Persia previously to their flight, they enjoyed great honour and respect, and were admitted to various important public dignities. Badiâzzemán, Tahir's son, was, at the time he wrote, still in Merv, and an affectionate and earnest prayer is proffered, that they may soon, as well as all his other relations, be happily reunited. The merits and accomplishments of these different members of his family are faithfully recorded, and the author proceeds to give some account of his own history and feelings. This part of the work is written in a flowery, but very beautiful style, and it will be seen later, from the criticism of a modern native writer, that it is considered a proof of Tahir's learning and elegance of composition. It commences with his birth and education in Nasrabad, and dwells with proud satisfaction on the honours and dignities of his ancestors, of whom Khájah Sadruddín Ali, his grandfather, was governor of Isfahan in the time of Mirza Sultan Muhammad Gurkán before Mirza Shahrokh, and built three Madrasahs, formerly richly endowed and well supported, but at that time abandoned to ruin and decay. He gives a particular account of these endowments, and indulges in many regrets at their present neglected state. The further history of his family, and of his own life, though it presents a fine specimen of composition, as related by the author himself, may be conveniently replaced by the memoir of him given in the Suhuf.

"Mirza Táhir was born in the year of the Hijrah 1049, and lived at first in the Mektebkhánahi Sháhí, but afterwards fixed his residence in a coffee-house in Isfahan, much frequented by poets and learned men. He studied with Aca Husain Khónsári, and by his advice and assistance arranged a Biography of Poets, called Tazkirahi Nasrábádí, containing the poets of the time of Shah Abbas. The

[1] "Eine grosse Zahl von Dichtern aufzufischen," &c. Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens, p. 349, where this observation is made on the Tuhfahi Sami.

vigour of his prose may be seen from his memoir of his own life, and his excellence in poetic composition from his imitation of Ahli Shirazi's artificial Mesnawi[1]. He associated in friendly intimacy with Mir Neját, Mirza Sáïb, and Mir Jelal Asír, and was the paneygrist of Shah Sulaiman. They say he made a journey to Hijaz, and finding on his return the coffee-house deserted by all his former friends and associates, he retired in melancholy to the Mosque of Línán, and shut himself up there in seclusion till his death. Shah Sulaiman held him in great esteem, and whenever he came to Nasírabad used to visit him. Nasírabad is a district of Isfahan, and Línán is one of the Mosques there[2]."

V.

مرآة الخيال

The Mirát ul Khayál, or "Mirror of Fancy," of Shír Khán Lódí[3] is found in many collections. The copy I have in use belongs to Mr. Cureton, and is a small quarto volume of 465 pages[4]. The biography bears but a small proportion to the other contents of the volume, by far the greater part being occupied by various scientific treatises; viz., on Prosody and Versification, on Music, Medicine, Interpretation of Dreams and Physiognomy, Ethics, Physics, and Geography; and, in conclusion, separated by a long distance from the section of the work, to which it would seem more natural to append it, there is a Tazkirat ul Sháírát, or Biography of Poetesses.

The Preface and Introduction treat of the origin of poetry and the sentiments expressed in the Coran on that art and on its followers; of the earlier Arabic poets, concerning which the memoirs at the commencement of Daulatshah's work are noticed; allusion is made to the well-known story of Lebid, and his confession of the superiority of

[1] The Sihri Halál سحر حلال of Maulana Ahli of Shiraz, which was itself an imitation of Katibí's Majmá ul Bahrain.

[2] The name of the Mosque is not very distinctly written in the MS. It also reads نصيرآباد in every instance; while the copies I have consulted of Tahir's work, have always نصرآباد

[3] Professor Dorn, from a MS. of the Táríkhi Afghán, belonging to the writer of this sketch, has established the pronunciation of لودى to be Lodai. Bulletin Scientifique, St. Petersb. T. x.

[4] I have also used, for collation, a copy in the library of the East India House (No. 226), an octavo of 450 pages.

the Coran over uninspired compositions. Yethret bin Cahtán bin Húd is cited as the first who composed Arabic poetry, and Behram Gúr as the inventor of the first Persian distich; the fifteen different kinds of verse are defined, exclusive of those called artistical[1] (صناعی) as practised by Amir Khusru among the ancient poets and Shaikh Habíb Ullah of Akberabad among modern writers. Immediately following the Mucaddamah is a treatise on the art of writing, the various kinds of character, and a brief notice of some celebrated calligraphs. The author thought this a suitable introduction to the biographical part of his poetic treatise, which is, in like manner, followed by the chapters treating on prosody; the latter, certainly, a very suitable accompaniment. He considered this addition the more necessary, as, he observes, writers of later date paid much less attention to prosody and the rules of their art, than those of older times, and laments, that in his day every scribbler, who could rhyme a couplet, was dubbed poet, and obtained fame and rank accordingly.

The poets noticed are seventy in number; the poetesses, fifteen. The former series includes both ancient and modern; commencing, as usual, with Asadi and the great bards of Firdusi's time, and terminating with an Indian author, Maulana Shaida of Fat'hpúr.

The poetesses, with one single exception, Mihri, differ entirely from those mentioned in the Atesh Kedah; these being the only two Persian Tazkirahs which afford the ladies the honour of a separate chapter. Many who are mentioned by Shír Khán, though their language is Persian, are of Indian birth, as might be expected in the writings of a native of that country[2].

A short Khatimah (of two pages and a half) concludes the volume. In this the author, after the usual praises of the Deity and the Prophet, returns thanks for the completion of his book, and adverts to the circumstances under which it was composed, mentioning the death of his father, but without giving his name[3], in the year 1084, and of his brother, whom he calls Abdallah Khan, killed in the

[1] Such as the composition of Tarikh, or Chronogram, of Leipogrammatic verses, and of those called Zú'l Bahrain, Zúl Cáfiatain, double rhymed, and to be scanned according to two different measures, &c.

[2] The "Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst," and the "History of Hindustani Poetry," give the memoirs of several Eastern poetesses; their number, however, is far exceeded by those of Persia, as exhibited in the Mirát and in the Atesh Kedah.

[3] The Arabic title of the work, as given on the fly leaf of the India House copy, supplies his father's name, calling it the Taskirah of Shír Khán, Ibn Ali Ahmed Khan Lodi.

mountains of Kabul, in 1087[1]. These are the only particulars, however slight, relating to his family, with which the author supplies us, and even these are introduced merely to describe the affliction, under which he laboured at the commencement of his present undertaking.

Shir Khán mentions none of his authorities, but professes (in his Khatimah) to have consulted many works bearing upon his subject, and declares his compilation to have been one of great labour and research[2], and we must estimate the value of his performance from the care he seems to have bestowed on it. The poets, whose lives it contains, being mostly of distinguished merit, are so well known to us from other memoirs, as to make a reference to the Mirát ul Khayal appear almost superfluous, except as being a compilation so early in date, and its materials derived probably from scarce and ancient authorities.

We find no sketch of this author's life, either among the memoirs in his work, nor, as usual, in the preface, or forming a separate chapter; and Shir Khan Lodi remains a personage undescribed. I have in vain searched for information in the numerous Tazkirahs which are of later date than his, but, with the exception of the Khazanahi Aámirah, they do not contain even a reference to his work.

The Khátimah of the Mirát ul Khayál concludes with the following Tarikh, from which, as the Khazánahi Aámirah observes, the year 1102 is obtained as the date of its completion.

این چمن زاری که مرات الخیالش خوانده ام
دارد از حسن معانی رنگ کمال
صورت تاریخ انجامش توان بی پردهٔ دید
گر تأمل پردهٔ بر دارد ز مرات الخیال [3]

[1] Written 1007 in the MS. in full, but the word هشتاد eighty had, no doubt, been omitted.

[2] مصدر دواوین و کتب متداوله چه قدر تلاش نمود و چه مایهٔ عرق ریزی سعی بکار برد

[3] This Chronogram is ingenious, but requires explanation. The letters of مرات الخیال give the number 1313, from which, abstracting the numerical value of the word پردهٔ = 211, there remains 1102. Thus "Reflection, by removing the *veil* (پردهٔ) from the *Mirror of Fancy*, discloses the date of its completion." There is a word in the second line wanting in the MS., and I am unable to supply it from the Khazanah, which only gives the figures of the year, but not the verses.

VI.

مقالات شعرا

The author of this little Tazkirah[1] calls himself Ináyat Talabkhán Yáwar[2], son of Rahmat Yár Khán, and states, in a short preface, that having long cherished a wish to undertake a work of this kind, he had, at length, on Panjshambah, nineteenth of Rajab, in the ninth year of Muhammad Shah, and the year of the Hijrah 1139, "knocked at the portal of commencement," and, despite the discouraging manner in which his master, Shaikh Muhammad Aádil Ulawi (عادل اولوی) viewed his undertaking, he finally completed his work; for which "that compendium of countless perfections," Khájah Muhammad Sherif furnished a poetical Chronogram, or Táríkhi Anjám.

بجو سالرا از مقالات شعرا ١١٤٥ [3]

There are memoirs of nearly 220 poets in this Tazkirah, alphabetically arranged. Both narrative and selection of poetry are naturally very limited. A short Khátimah, copied by another hand, expresses the satisfaction of the author at the completion of this "heart-alluring volume," with the customary apologies and claims for indulgence. There is no quotation of the Macáláti Shuâra in other Tazkirahs, nor can I find the poet Yáwar in any of their biographies.

VII.

رياضة الشعراء

The latter half of the twelfth century of the Hijrah furnishes numerous works on biography, but of a long list of Tazkirahs[4], the

[1] MS. of the India House Library, No. 427, containing sixty-five pages in octavo, many of the memoirs being written in a minute hand round the margin, or in spaces which had been blank; probably additions.

[2] عنایت طلبخان یاور "تخلص" In a note on the fly leaf the name is written محمد عنایت الله مخاطب بعنایت طلبخان یاور which is probably correct.

[3] The title, however, only affords the number 1143.

[4] I have the use of two copies of the Ríázat, of which one is in my own collection, a very plainly written quarto manuscript of 500 pages, formerly belonging to Major Turner Macan, who quotes it in the Introduction to his edition of the Shah Nameh. This MS. exends only to the letter س The other is a large folio in the India House (Bibliotheca Leydeniana), and is complete. Mr. J. B. Elliott also possesses a copy.

earliest I can notice from inspection, is the Riázat ul Shuârá, or Garden of Poets, by Ali Culi Khan, a native of Daghistan, from which his work is sometimes called also Tárikhi Dághistání. This Tazkirah is referred to by most writers who succeeded him; and in many of their works his life is given, under the name of Wálih, his Takhallus.

A short preface states, as the author's reason for compiling the work, his desire to make known to the world the poets of his own time, particularly those of India, to which country he had been driven from Persia by the unhappy events of the Afghan invasion. His object, as he states, was rather to collect lofty ideas and precious compositions, than to array an imposing host of versifiers. In the selection of his anthology he has chosen mostly from Casidah, Ghazal, Kitâah, and other kinds of verse, abstaining from Mesnawi, as being of too great extent; "For," he says, "if I had given extracts from such works as the Shah Nameh of Firdusi, the Khamseh of Nizami, Jami's Seven Poems, the Mesnawi of the Maulána, &c., it would have swelled the size of the volume to twenty thousand couplets, and have caused rather weariness than interest to the reader." He states himself to have perused seventy Diwans, and consulted numerous biographical and historical works, and others relating to his subject. The Nafahát[1] and the Mejális ul Ushshác[2] alone are quoted by name. Wherever there was a difference of opinion in Tazkirahs, he endeavoured to reconcile them, or to decide according to the greater or less degree of credit they deserved. To the Nafahát in particular he attached great credit. He then eulogizes Shah Husain Mirza Safawi, Shah Tahmasp, Nadir, and Muhammad Shah. A portion of the preface is devoted to explaining the arrangement of his book, which he has made alphabetical, giving reasons for his preference of it to a chronological series, or to division according to rank and profession. Each letter forms a separate Rauzah, or Garden; "and this beauteous charmer (شاهد زیبا) he named Riáz ul Shuârá[3], and added a Khatimah, containing his life."

The date of the composition of the Tazkirah is thus enigmatized

[1] نفحات الانس Nafahát ul Uns, Jami's celebrated work on Sufyism, analyzed in the Notices et Extraits, &c.

[2] مجالس العشاق A collection of Anecdotes of Sufi love. The contents are given in Hammer-Purgstall's Catalogue of his Manuscripts.

[3] Sometimes written Riázat, and sometimes Riáz ul Shuârá.

in a Tetrastich found among the specimens given of the author's poetry.

این تذکره چون طرب فزای دل شد
تاریخش را دل از خرد سایل شد
گفتا ز ریاض الشعرا رفت خزان
[1] دروی چو بهار سر زده داخل شد

Although it might be supposed to be more interesting to learn the author's history as described by his own pen, it is so much more full in the memoir given of him in the Suhuf, that it is preferable for insertion here.

The original country of his ancestors is stated to have been Arabistan, and their genealogy to have been traced back to Abbas, the uncle of the prophet. On the invasion of Hulagu Khan, and the downfall of the dynasty of the Abbaside Khalifs, one of the family emigrated to Daghistan, where he took up his abode, and from his commanding and noble manners and appearance, was at once recognised by the people as their chief. This princely authority remained with his descendants many years after his death, till, in the time of Shah Safi Safawi, one of the forefathers of this same Walih removed from Daghistan to Iran, where he was honoured with the title of Safi Culi Khan, and appointed Begler Beg of Iran. From that time till the reign of Husain Mirza, the whole line of this family continued to enjoy honour and distinction; "such as Muhammad Ali Khan Rúbdálah, Begler Beg of Iravan, and Azarbaijan, and Candahar, and Fath Ali Khan, uncle of the aforesaid Khan, who was entrusted with the office of Vizir."

Walih was born at Isfahan, and his education was attended with the most distinguished success. A romantic attachment, formed while he was pursuing his studies at the Mekteb Khaneh, for his cousin, Khadíjah Sultan, with whom his union was prevented by "revolution of fortune, and the fiery breaking out of the Afghan invasion," exercised a melancholy influence over the remainder of Walih's life, during

[1] To obtain the required date, recourse must be had to the license Taâmiyah; thus, the Arabic letters of the title of the book give 1613, from which take those of the word Khazán (Autumn) = 658, leaving 955. Insert the numeric value of بهار (Spring) "deprived of its head," (*i. e.*, the first letter ب), viz., 208 – 2; according to the directions ingeniously concealed in the last two lines, "*Autumn* departed from the *Garden of Poets*, when *Spring*, deprived of its head, had entered." 1613 + 206 - 658 = 1161.

the whole of which he remained sad and downcast, and was the occasion of his composing many elegies in Turki and Persian, "on the absence of that unseen moon," the notice of which compositions belongs rather to the consideration of his character as a poet, than as the object of this sketch[1].

Ali Culi Khan, at the distracted period of the revolution in Persia, and the rising of the sun of Nadir's glory, left his country and settled in India, where he was favourably received at Court, became one of the Umrás, and lived in peace and contentment, honoured and respected, in the society of his friends, till the year 1180, when he died.

Nearly the same particulars of the life of Walih are given in the Tazkirah of Abu Talib[2], in which Shamakhan in Daghistan is named as the native town of Ali Culi's family, and the first settler in Persia is called Alcás Mirza, younger son of Aldár Khan of Shamakhan. "In the time of Sultan Husain Mirza the principal high offices in the kingdom appear to have been filled by different members of his family; Fath Ali Khan, his younger son being Sipáh Sálár, and Muhammad Ali Khan, (Ali Culi Khan's father,) younger brother of Lutf Ali Khan, having the government of Ganjah and Shirwan." The same Tazkirah relates the early attachment to his cousin, who was also betrothed to him, and his consequent flight from his native country. "The date of Walih's emigration to India was 1147, and of his death there 1170." "The contents of his Diwan," Abu Talib adds, "are estimated at four thousand couplets, and he wrote also a Tazkirah, which, as stated already in the preface, was the cause of undertaking this work;" viz., the Khulásat ul Afkár.

The very short notice of Walih, in the Atesh Kedah, furnishes no additional information. In that work he is usually quoted as Ali Culi Khan Legzi.

The memoirs contained in the Riazat are between 1500 and 1600. Many of these, as well as the specimens given, are of considerable length, as those of Anwari, Auhadi of Maraghah, Jami, Hafiz, Khusru, &c., and besides these well-known authors, large extracts from the scarcer works of Haidar, Shefái, Abdul Wási' Jabali, Furogh, Ibrahim Khalífah (of whom a long memoir also). Some of the latter occupy ten and twelve large folio pages[3]; those of Urfi, a

[1] Possibly his poetic name of Wálih, واله signifying "distracted lover," may have been chosen by him from the circumstance of his unfortunate attachment.

[2] The Khulasat ul Afkár, No. XI.

[3] Those in the India House copy contain twenty-five lines of prose, or fifty couplets of poetry, to a page.

favourite poet with all native compilers, and of Sáïb, nearly twenty pages each. From the very rare poem of Fakhruddin Asâad on the loves of Waisah and Ramín, there is a selection of more than seven hundred couplets. The longest notices in biography are probably those of Shah Tahmasp, and of Lutf Ali Khan, a paternal uncle of the author, each containing four or five full pages of historical detail. There is also a very interesting memoir of Mulla Shah, who occupies so conspicuous a place in the Dabistan. The specimens of Walih's own poetry, given at the end of the Khatimah containing his life, amount to five or six hundred couplets. They are chiefly Casidah.

Walih's Tazkirah possesses a similar merit to that of Taki Auhadi in preserving recollections of Al Aúfi, whose work is repeatedly quoted, apparently from inspection, and not indirectly through some later source. The other authorities principally used are Auhadi, Táhir, Shír Khan; also Serkhush, author of the Kelimát ul Shuârá.

The importance of the Riázat ul Shuara, and the esteem in which it was held by critics, is sufficiently shown by Abu Talib's declaration that it was his chief inducement for compiling his own Tazkirah. Indeed, all subsequent authors agree in paying a tribute to the learning and excellence of Walih.

VIII.

تذکرة المعاصرین

A Tazkirat ul Mûásirín, or Biography of his contemporaries, was composed by the celebrated Shaikh Ali Hazin, who, in addition to the curious and interesting notices of authors, which are interspersed through his own Memoirs[1], has devoted a separate work to the commemoration of the poets of the twelfth century of Islamism.

The only copy I have seen of this Tazkirah, is in the possession of Professor Forbes Falconer, to whom I am indebted for the use of it. The manuscript is a small folio of eighty-seven leaves, written out in Shawwal 1244, in a fine large Nastaalic, containing fifteen lines to a page. The preface occupies twelve pages. The author wished only to record the lives and poetry of his friends and contemporaries, and had, therefore, commenced his memoirs from the date of his own birth in Rabíâ ul sání, 1103. In speaking of previous Tazkirahs, he says, that many hardly deserve credit, verses of one author being frequently ascribed to another; persons inserted as poets, who never

[1] Distinguished by the name of تذکرة الاحوال A copy of it is contained in the same manuscript with the work now under notice.

even composed in verse; and merit extolled, or cried down, in a perfectly arbitrary manner. In the composition of his own work he seems to have laboured under much disadvantage, arranging it, as he says, "in a time of affliction[1]," and depending entirely on memory both for his history and quotation, in which he states himself to have been unassisted by a single line of any author, or by reference to any work on the subject, so that in some cases, he was obliged to give the memoir alone, rather than omit one name of the fraternity of poets. The division is simply into two parts, or فرقه, the first containing twenty, and the latter, eighty memoirs. Those of the first part are of learned men, and occupy seventy-five pages; the second part comprises those of humbler rank and pretensions, briefly described in seventy-eight pages. In a short Khatimah the author returns thanks for the completion of his book, having, by application some hours by day and night, in nine days completed the number of a hundred memoirs, accompanied by such specimens of poetry as he could remember, and subscribes himself as Muhammad, called Ali bin Abi Tálib bin Abdillah bin Ali al Záhidí al Gílání. The date of his composition, he had already stated in the preface, to be 1165, when he was in India.

It will be conceived that this compilation, whose materials were derived solely from the author's unassisted memory, can afford but a very limited extent of extract, while the memoirs, being exclusively contemporaneous, present few names of interest, in our present circumscribed knowledge of modern Persian literature. Hazin's Tazkirah is, however, perhaps the more valuable, as a biographic outline of authors whose names would otherwise have perished altogether; and as containing specimens of their compositions, which were probably either never collected into Diwans, or if published, have been since forgotten or destroyed. Its contents are also important as being derived from the author's own personal knowledge, and deserving credit from the scrupulous fidelity he observed in his arrangement. Several of the same poets are noticed by his contemporary, Lutf Ali, in the Atesh Kedah, but no memoir of that author, nor allusion to his Tazkirah appears in Ali Hazin's work. The Atesh Kedah was, indeed, completed after Hazin's flight from Persia, and as the two authors were not acquainted[2], it is possible that the Shaikh had no knowledge of his contemporary's labours, the result of which would hardly have found its way to India during the troubles of that period.

[1] Alluding, no doubt, to his exile from his country, detailed in his Autobiography.

[2] So stated in the life of Hazin, in the Atesh Kedah.

Ali Hazin's Tazkirat ul Mûâsirín is one of the authorities named in the preface of the Khazanahi Aámirah, and the Khulasat ul Kelam. A notice of his life appears in the latter work, in the Suhuf, and also in the Khulasat ul Afkár, as well as in the Atesh Kedah. Little, however, is to be added to the full details we possess in his Autobiography. The date of his death, already fixed by M. de Tassy[1] from an Indian Tazkirah, is confirmed in the Khulasat ul Kelam, which states him to have died in the year 1180, and his burial-place outside the city of Benares to have been much visited.

IX.

انتخاب تذکرات الشعرا

A small octavo volume[2], called Intikhábi Tazkirát ul Shuârá, claims a place among the works now under notice, though, as its name denotes, it professes to be no more than a compendium. It contains only seventy-seven leaves, written in an Indian character, fifteen lines to a page. The compiler, without mentioning his name, states his object to have been the arrangement of a Bayaz from Tazkirahs and Diwans "from the earliest times to the present year 1172." The division is into three Tabacahs, or classes.

Class 1st. Poets of the earliest age, from the very commencement of the knowledge of the art of poetry among the Persians, down to the year 800, contemporary with Amir Timur Gurkáni Sáhib Kirán.

Class 2nd متوسطین. Those of middle antiquity, down to the time of Humayun Padishah Tughrayi, 961.

Class 3rd متاخرین. Modern poets.

To the last class he has "annexed some of the earlier masters of poetry, who, having composed in Pehlewi, Cazwíni, Kirmáni, ancient Gurkhi[3], and other tongues now no longer in use, he has contented himself with giving their names only, as also of some other writers, of whom, from their great antiquity, he was unacquainted with the compositions."

The proposed arrangement does not seem to be preserved, as the poets occur merely in the alphabetical order of their names, without any apparent division in the copy according to classes of age.

[1] History of Hindustani Literature. "Hazin (Muhammad)."

[2] In the Library of the East India House, marked No. 47; presented by Lieutenant-Colonel William Kirkpatrick, 30th May, 1804.

[3] I should have been inclined to read *Gurji*, the language of Gurjistan, but it is written distinctly with Kh in the MS. in several places.

They amount to one hundred and fifty in number, and comprise chiefly the most celebrated names, both memoir and extract being, in proportion to the size of the work, of very moderate length. A few of the biographies, indeed, extend over a page or more in length. The most interesting chapter is the very brief one which forms the Khatimah or Appendix, in which the names, and little more, of twenty poets are given, who wrote in languages or dialects now lost, such as are described in the preface. It is only to be regretted, that some specimens of their compositions are not preserved, which, if merely for philology alone, would be of great interest.

X.

خزانهٔ عامرة

The Khazánahi Aámirah, a manuscript in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society[1], and forming the tenth in order, of those to be described here, is a volume of small size, but very interesting in its contents, especially as affording in the preface a clue to numerous Tazkirahs by which it was enriched, and of which many seem to have escaped the observation of other writers.

The author calls himself, in his preface, "the well-wisher to the princes of eloquence, the poor servant of God, Azád, Husainí, Wásití[2], Balgrámí," and says he composed this Tazkirah at the request of his relation, Muhammad Auládi Muhammad, and the date of his composition he has expressed in a Tarikh, which gives the year 1176[3].

[1] Presented to the Oriental Translation Committee by Sir Alexander Malet, Bart. Numbered 187 in Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the MSS. Octavo, closely written in a good hand, a page containing twenty-two lines.

An extract from this Tazkirah, containing lives of some of the nobles of Hindustan, is sometimes found in a detached form, and bearing the same title as the original; so that a manuscript of the one is frequently described as, and mistaken for, the other. In this state it usually contains about 120 pages, octavo; as in a copy in the East India House Library, and one in my own collection. The extract is also called Khazánahi Umara, that is, "of the Nobles;" and this Arabic plural of Amír, so much resembles the title of the original work, that it produces much ambiguity.

[2] One of his ancestors, originally of Wásit, settled in Balgrám.

[3] آزاد رقم نمود نو تذکرهٔ
در جیب ورق ریخت نقود سرهٔ
گنجور خرد گوهر تاریخ فشاند
حق دادہ عجب خزانهٔ عامرهٔ

A detailed account of his own life is given under his poetic name Azad, in its proper place among the memoirs. The remainder of the preface is devoted to the discussion of the origin of Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani poetry, and to an explanation of the principles on which he has arranged his materials.

"The arrival of Fakír Azád from the dormitory of nonenity to the assembly of existence was on Yakshambah, the 25th of Safar, 1116. His birthplace was Maidanpúrh, which is in the town of Balgrám, a dependance of the Súbah of Audh, in the territory of Púrb. His genealogy ascends to 'Isa Muwattim ul Ashbál[1] bin Zaid Shahíd bin Imám Zain il Aábidín." He then mentions his different preceptors. "I acquired learning from five masters: first, from that mirror of wisdom, Mír Tufail Muhammad; secondly, from that illustrious sage, Mír Abdul Jelíl[2], may God make him drink of the water of Selsibíl! he instructed me in language, and the traditions of the Prophet and in humanity; thirdly, that sea of the waves of learning, Mír Sayyid Muhammad; from him I learned prosody, and other branches of polite literature; fourthly, from that master of Coranic learning, Shaikh Muhammad Hayát; lastly, that combination of varied excellences, Shaikh Abdulwahháb Tantáwi."

He states himself to have performed three journeys in the course of his life: first, in 1134, to Shahjehanabad, in company with Mír Azamat Ullah Bíkhabar[3] Balgrámi, where he remained two years studying, and then returned to Balgrám; second, in Zilhijjah 1142, to Sívestan, a town of Sind, passing through Multan and Lahor, and arriving on the 11th of Rabíá ul Awwal of the following year. There he saw his uncle, Mír Sayyid Muhammad, who held an appointment in that city for the Emperor of Delhi. After four years, Azad returned to Sívestan, and in the middle of the year 1147, came back, by the same way, to Shahjehanabad, where, hearing that his father and some of his family were at Allahabad, about ten stages distant from Balgrám, he went there, arriving just in time for the full moon of Ramazan, so as to enjoy both the splendour of the feast and the happiness of meeting his friends and relations; and during his stay twice visited "that Rosebower Balgrám."

The third journey was to Hijaz, and the two holy sanctuaries.

[1] موتم الاشبال is explained in the narrative to mean "one who makes orphan the young lions;" *i. e.*, a great lion-killer, and to have been given as a surname to this person, from his love of the chase.

[2] According to the Suhuf, Azad was son of Mir Abdul Jelíl.

[3] Author of the Sefínahi Bíkhabar, a Tazkirah alluded to in the Preface, and mentioned later among these Notices.

"On my second visit to Balgrám, the desire I had long entertained of visiting the shrines, gained the ascendancy, and on the 3rd of Rajab, 1150, corresponding with the word 'Seferi Khair[1],' I packed my saddle-bags for Hijáz, and having traversed sea and land, arrived at the holy places, and rubbed the forehead of supplication on the threshold of the house of God. The season of pilgrimage being yet remote, I remained three days in Mecca, and then repaired to Medinah, and made the dust of the threshold of the Prophet collyrium for the eye of prayer. On the approach of the 'Id ul Fitr[2], I repaired to Mecca, and passed a year (corresponding with Amali Aâzam[3]) in the duties of pilgrimage." Finally, in the year 1152, corresponding to "Sefer bakhair[4]," he left Mecca for the Dekkan, and after residing some time in the city of Aurangabad, chose it as his residence, and continued to dwell there to the period when he wrote his memoir, at the age of sixty-one years. He next introduces the subject of his own poetry, informing his readers that he had arranged Diwans both in Persian and Arabic, the latter of which contained three thousand couplets, and which, with much self-gratulation, he states to have been well-known in the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, in Yemen, and in Egypt[5].

Ibrahim Khalíl gives the life of Azád, in his Suhuf, and further states that, "up to the present time, which is the seventh year of Shah Aálam, he is still occupied in the composition of Arabic and Persian poetry. His works are numerous; among others, he has arranged three Tazkirahs of Poets; the first is named Yadi Bayza, the second Servi Azád[6], and the third Khazánahi Aámirah."

From the Khulasat ul Afkar, we learn that Azád was a distinguished poet; that after his journeys and pilgrimage already described, (and mentioned also in the Suhuf), he was much honoured during his residence at Aurangabad by the Subahdars, and associated in friendly intimacy with the sons of Asaf Jah; yet with these temptations, he never engaged in the affairs of the world. Of his composition there is

[1] سفر خير "Prosperous journey;" a Chronogram of the year 1150.

[2] عيد الفطر The Feast immediately following Ramazan.

[3] عمل اعظم "The great work," or "duty," makes a Tarikh = 1151.

[4] سفر بخير Similar to Seferi Khair, but being a year later, an additional unit, expressed by ب, was necessary to complete the date, 1152.

[5] M. de Tassy's Biography cites him also as an Hindustani poet, and author of a treatise on Indian Ghazals.

[6] These two works are noticed later.

a Persian Diwan, and a book of Arabic Elegies and Mesnawis, nearly ten thousand couplets. Only two of his Tazkirahs are here mentioned, the present work and the Servi Azad, both of which the author of the Khulasat ul Afkar considers to be noble proofs of his proficiency in every thing connected with prosody and versification, and composition, both in Persian and Arabic. The year of Fakir Azád's death, 1200, is also given.

In a biography of Azád, in the Macálati Shûará, some further slight particulars are found; that he studied eloquence with Muhammad Aslam Sálim[1], and Shaikh Saâd Ullah Gulshan, in the Subah of Ahmedabad of Guzarat; that for a short time he was in attendance on Muhammad Aazam Shah, and also in the service of Amír Khan, Subahdar of Akbarabad. "At the command of that mine of generosity Mir Abúl Wafá Hindi, he composed a tale in verse called Náz u Níáz[2], a Mesnawi, from which an extract is given."

One of the most remarkable features in the Khazanah is the great variety of sources to which the author had access, and of which he has availed himself for his compilation. A catalogue of more than twenty Tazkirahs is given in his preface, mostly accompanied by some critical or biographical remarks, and, wherever it was possible, by the date of the author's death, or of the composition of the work; many of these are expressed in poetic chronogram, and are important from the accuracy they infer. All the Biographies anterior to his own are named, with the exception of the Beharistan. Eight of those which I name in this sketch, are drawn solely from that catalogue. To avoid repetition, I abstain from giving the list entire in this place, but it may be seen from the very frequent references, how much I am indebted to it in my present inquiry. A few other works, equally useful for authority on the subject, though not strictly Tazkirát ul Shuara, are also described in Azád's preface; the Heft Aclím, Tarikhi Badáwani, &c.

XI.

خلاصة الافكار

A very slight anachronism may be pardonable in making the present subject precede that of No. XII., thus preserving the regularity of the narrative; although the Khulásat ul Afkár is, by a few years,

[1] Muhammad Aslam was a pupil of Mulla Muhsin Fání, to whom the Dabistan has been attributed. The memoir of Aslam is given in the Suhuf, that of Shah Gulshan in the Ríázat.

[2] ناز و نیاز

of more recent date than the two works described later, and is, consequently the most modern of all the Tazkirahs of which we have any knowledge. It is the composition of Mirza Abu Tálib Khan, the accomplished oriental traveller, the journal of whose visit to Europe, and residence in this country, has already exhibited him as a writer of good taste and ability, and who has presented us with the result of his labours in criticism and in biographical research, in the volume now under notice. The only copy I am informed of, is in the library of the East India House[1]. It is contained in a large and very thick quarto, of which the biographical part occupies 383 leaves. It is very carefully written in good small Nastaalic, is in perfect condition, and complete.

In a preface of eight pages, Abú Tálib Khán al Tabrízí al Isfahání, "the A B C reader of the grammar-school of ignorance," son of the late Hajji Muhammad Beg, states, that from the earliest age to the present time, viz., at the age of forty, and the year 1206, he had read much, and had been a great admirer of poetry, and had long conceived the project of composing a Tazkirah of ancient and modern poets, which he thought would be a work likely to meet with the approbation of people of learning and taste. Pressure of business, however, and various engagements did not allow him an opportunity of putting his design into immediate execution, although he never entirely abandoned it, but continued to collect materials, carefully noting for extracts whatever book he met with, till in the year 1202, being at Calcutta, where he was absent from Lucknow, his birth-place, and, for some time, his residence, he chanced to meet with that learned and excellent Sayyid, the late Mir Muhammad Husain, (of whom he makes mention in the Khatimah of his book,) then lately arrived there from Hyderabad. "I happened at that time to be engaged with the late Ali Culi Khan's Tazkirah, abounding in beautiful poetry, and with which I was greatly charmed. One day the Sayyid recommended me to make an abridgement of the work, which, in obedience to so esteemed a friend, I cheerfully undertook, and augmented it with a Khatimah and memoirs of some of my contemporaries." Still, his former project had taken such deep root in his mind, that he determined on fulfilling it, and as his materials had been gradually collected and prepared during twenty-five years of study and research, in a very short time he was able to arrange them in their present form; viz., a Mucaddamah, twenty-eight Hadícahs (or gardens) a Zíl, and a Khátimah; and as its principal object was to contain a choice of the most beautiful conceptions of the poets of

[1] No. 53 of the Leyden Collection.

Persia, he named it Khulásat ul Afkár (the Beauties of Poetry). Some verses follow, by the author, of which the last lines give the date of its commencement and completion, viz. 1207 and 1211[1]; also a short Mesnawi, in which he dedicates his book to the Vizir Asafuddaulah.

In the Mucaddamah, the nature and origin of poetry is discussed, and the rise and progress of the art down to the twelfth century of the Hijrah. Abu Talib then proceeds to give the divisions of Persian verse according to ten forms and eighteen subjects; treats of the necessary qualifications for a writer of biography, and the best mode of arranging a Tazkirah; then describes minutely the arrangement of his own, and the manner in which he has selected his extracts; says, that of the more celebrated poets he has not hestitated to take four, or even seven hundred couplets, as he thereby enables the reader to dispense with forty or fifty volumes of prose and verse; also, of such poems as the Hasht Bihisht of Khusru, the stories of the Shah Nameh, the Hamlahi Haidari, &c., from which the extracts given are of very great extent. Particular directions, occupying the remainder of the Muccaddamah, are given to all who copy his book to attend scrupulously to the order he has observed in his anthology, so that the various specimens may follow the life of each author according to a prescribed arrangement, under the several heads of Casidah, Ghazal, Rubái, &c., comprising all the divisions of verse both in subject and in form. Each of these divisions has its own alphabetical series, and even where the rhyme is changed, the alteration is announced by the Radíf or final letter being written in red, where it first occurs. A Fihrist, or Table of Contents, of elaborate exactness, is prefixed to each chapter, giving in the figures called Racam, the number of extracts accompanying each memoir, as well as of the couplets contained in them; the amount in each chapter being summed up separately, according to their various kinds. The whole is recapitulated in a Fihristi Kull, or General Index, by which the rich contents of the volume are displayed under a classified and methodical arrangement, of great utility both for reference to this particular Tazkirah, and as a conspectus of Persian literature.

[1] There are seventeen distichs, concluding with

گل بیخار و گنج بی رنج است

سال اتمام این خجسته نگار

ورتو از مبدأش بخواهی گو

جمع یکجا خلاصة الافکار

The division of the chapters is merely according to the letters of the alphabet; thus, Hadícahi Alif, "Garden A," &c. The memoirs contained in them amount to 309, accompanied by 4570 specimens, containing 23,281 couplets. A Zíl, or supplement, supplies the memoirs of 159 poets more, whose compositions were either not known to the author at the time he was engaged in the first part of his work, or were more difficult to obtain from not having been collected in Diwans. These extracts consist of 1105 couplets, contained in 536 specimens. A Khátimah comprises the author's own memoir, and those of twenty-three of his friends and contemporaries, contributing 316 specimens, or 1165 couplets; the whole number of poets commemorated in this Tazkirah, amounting to 491; the specimens of their poetry 5422; and the number of couplets 25,551.

The chapter of Contemporaneous Poets contains an episode of some interest to amateurs of Hinduwi literature, though here rather abruptly introduced. At the conclusion of a memoir of an Indian poet, Rai Sunát'h Singh, *Bédár* Takhallus, the biographer takes occasion to mention that, although a Persian writer, Sunat'h Singh was a Hindi, and his proper language, Bhákka, the dialect of the people of Braj, in which compositions existed in great number, arranged in the old Indian metres, differing widely from those of the Arabs. He then informs us that in that language a poet is called *Kabíshwar*, and *Kabíshwarán*, and that the number of such poets is so great, that were he to make mention of all of them, "it would lead to prolixity; on the other hand, to pass them altogether in silence, would fall far short of what is just, this language being sweet, sonorous, and distinguished by all the properties essential to a polished and learned tongue." He concludes an eulogium on the Bhákha dialect by proposing to give a sketch of some of its most distinguished poets, accompanied by thirty-two *Kabits*, and three hundred and thirty-seven *Dohrahs*, as specimens of their compositions, to fulfil the promise in his preface, of gratifying the demand of readers of every taste. There are about ten memoirs, containing, among others, the names of Behárí, Késava Dás, Sundar, &c., the whole occupying the entire three sides of margin of sixteen pages of the text, of which seven are devoted to an extraordinary Risalah, called Siráj, or by Pandits, Bhéd Nákiya, or Nákiya Bhéd[1].

The portion devoted to the author's own life is confined to two pages, commencing with an account of his family, in which his father, Hajji Muhammad Beg Khan[2], is stated to have derived his origin from

[1] بهید ناکیا

[2] In the Preface his father is called also Muhammad Tabrízí Isfahání, alluding, as in the son's name, to the origin of the family, from Tabríz.

the Turkmans of Azarbaijan, to have been born in Abbasabad of Isfahan, and to have come early in life to India, where he entered into the service of the Vizir, Abul Mansúr Khan, was appointed to various offices in Oude, and subsequently lived at Benares. His death took place at Murshidabad, about the sixtieth year of his age, A.H. 1183, of which event rather a long Kitâh, or Fragment, contains the date. The name of Abu Talíb's maternal grandfather is also given, Abûl Hasan Beg, a pious and virtuous man, born at Isfahan, and some few particulars of his life are mentioned. Abu Talib himself was born at Lakhnau, in the year 1166, and his early education directed by the Nawwab Shujá' uddaulah, who, whenever he visited the city, was pleased to inquire after the young Abu Talib's health and well-doing. The memoir continues to relate the progress of his education, his appointment to various public situations in the government of Oude, and the further particulars of his history already known from the narrative of his travels, and contains no additional circumstance of any literary interest. As specimens of his poetic talent it gives a few Tetrastichs, some of which are elegiac verses on his son, who died at an early age.

It has already been seen from the Preface, that the compiler has not confined himself to a selection of poetry, but inserted also some prose specimens, which are referred to and numbered in the Index. Those contained in the former part of the work are extracts from Sadi's Gulistan, from the works of Nîmat Khan Aáli, from the Ricâáti Aálamgiri, a Risaleh by Mir Shamsuddin Fakír, an extract from the Tárikhi Nádiri, and from the Abwáb ul Jinán[1]. Those exhibited in the Khatimah are of his own composition, consisting of five Treatises, which form a considerable part of the conclusion of the volume. The first is on Ethics, of four pages; on Music, three pages; a Treatise on Prosody, about ten; forty of a "Compendious Essay on the Five Branches of Medical Science;" and lastly, an Epitome of Universal History and Geography, to which he has given the name of Lubb ul Siyar u Jehán Numá[2], and which may be considered as a separate and independent work. It is of considerable length, and the author seems to have bestowed great pains and attention on its composition. It is

[1] These are mostly well-known works. Nîmat Khan was a sort of Persian Dean Swift. The Tárikhi Nádiri was translated by Sir W. Jones; ابواب الجنان "The gates of Paradise" is an ethical work, by Muhammad Muhsin Rúdbárí; and Shamsuddin, surnamed Fakír, was a poet of Dehli; vide De Tassy, "Faquir." The other two require no comment.

[2] لبّ السّیر و جهان نما

particularly interesting as comprising in its general outline a concise description of the countries of Europe, and of America, and even a sketch of their history. The portion relating to Great Britain is of more extent than that which is devoted to other European nations; the reigns of each king even are separately noticed, and the origin of the East India Company and its dominion are reviewed in the proper place. The whole is highly curious, and though too remote from literary interest in connexion with poetry, or poetical biography, to admit of further analysis on this occasion, it is well worthy of at least a partial translation, to exhibit the amount of knowledge possessed by its accomplished author on so varied and extensive a field as that of general history and geography, and especially on many subjects usually beyond the limits of Asiatic inquiry and means of research. This last treatise was composed 1208 = 1793. The author's death occurred in 1221 = 1806[1].

XII.

خلاصة الكلام — صحف ابرهيم

Terminating a period of nearly six hundred years, over whose literature extends a series of more than forty Tazkirahs, we arrive at two most remarkable works, which, although perfectly distinct from each other in title and contents, yet, from their unity of design, and the circumstance of their being written by the same author, I am induced to count as one single article in the present arrangement.

Preceding writers on the subject had usually limited their researches to a particular age, or to poets who had excelled in one or more styles; but a later author, grasping the whole circle of criticism and biography, has given us a complete survey of poetical literature, from its earliest dawn to the very recent period at which he finished his compilation. The results of his diligence and learning he named the Khulásat ul Kelám and Suhufi Ibrahím.

Of these two works, the former, or at least a volume of it, is contained in the Library of our Society. The Suhufi Ibrahím appears to be found only in the collection of Mr. Elliott, to whose interesting communication (already mentioned) I was first indebted both for the knowledge of its existence and for some account of its author. The manuscript has since been kindly entrusted to my care; but the description my obliging correspondent had already given me of it,

[1] See "Abú Tálib Khán," in the valuable Persian notices contributed to the New Biographical Dictionary, 1842.

contains so many interesting particulars, I am induced to quote it here entire[1].

"This collection was made by the late Nawwab Amin ud Dowlah, Aziz ul Mulk, Ali Ibrahim Khan Bahadur, Nasír Jang, ul Mutakhallus ba Khalíl. This gentleman was honoured by the friendship of Warren Hastings, by whom he was appointed Judge of the city of Benares, where he resided many years, and was highly respected for the qualities of his head and heart. He also compiled a collection of Hindustani Poetry, entitled Gulzári Ibrahím, respecting which see page x. of M. Garcin de Tassy's Preface to Volume I. of his History of the Literature of Hindustan. The Nawwab has divided his collection of Persian Poetry into two distinct works; the one entitled Khulasat ul Kelám is appropriated to selections from, and abstracts of, the Mesnawis of seventy-eight poets who have produced the most approved works in that style of poetry. It is contained in two large quarto volumes of 2005 pages, each page containing four lines in breadth and twenty-one in length. The second collection is entitled Suhufi Ibrahim, and includes the sorts of poetry not comprehended in the former. To give some idea of the extent of the work, I may mention, that a large royal octavo volume of 694 closely written pages is filled solely with the biographical notices of 3263 poets.

"The poetical extracts of this second work are not in my possession. It was compiled subsequently to the Khulasat ul Kelám, when the Nawwab was at a very advanced age, and I have some doubts whether a fair copy of it has ever been taken. The nephew of the Nawwab, long a resident of this city, informed me, that (owing to the dissipated character of the Nawwab's heirs,) a copy could not be obtained, but I have since heard of the existence of one in the library of an English gentleman resident at Benares. This portion of the work is, therefore, not to be given up as irrecoverable, and there are even reasons for considering the loss of it as less to be regretted than would have been that of the Mesnawis, possessing as we do, the Diwans and miscellaneous poems of the most eminent poets mostly, or entirely complete.

"However, what in my opinion renders the collection of the Nawwab of peculiar importance is the very valuable mass of biographical information it contains, not merely in point of quantity of matter only, but for the great critical acumen displayed in selecting

[1] To Mr. Elliott, therefore, I am indebted for the first and last of the works which form the subject of this Essay; the indisputably most ancient, and, it is reasonable to believe, the latest, of all Persian Tazkirahs.

and comparing dates and circumstances, and on an attentive comparison of several notices in the Suhufi Ibrahim with those of the Atesh Kedah, I am induced, decidedly to give the preference to the former.

"The judicial habits of the Nawwab must have been favourable to his critical discrimination, which his intimacy with Europeans must also have tended to improve. The peace and tranquillity which have prevailed in the provinces during the ascendancy of the British power favoured the formation of extensive libraries in the cities of Lucknow, Patna, and Benares, to all of which, besides his own extensive collections, the Nawwab had, of course, access."

I will not follow Mr. Elliott in the inquiry into the comparative merits of the Nawwab's work, and of Lutf Ali's Atesh Kedah, as I have neither had time to pursue it to the same extent, nor am I willing to oppose myself to the conclusion which so able and critical a scholar has drawn from the research; although a strong claim of preference may naturally attach to the genuine composition of a native Persian, as Lutf Ali Beg, exercising on its language the pure taste of the country in which he was born, educated, and residing; as compared with the criticism, however well directed and diligently acquired, of a Musulman inhabitant of India, where the whole Mahometan literature, as that of the Turks, is but an adaptation of the Persian, and their poetry, transplanted from its proper clime, and nurtured by the studious care of imitative genius, blooms rather with the luxuriant wantonness of exotic cultivation, than with the graceful symmetry of native growth which shades the pilgrimed tombs of Sadi and of Hafiz at Shiraz, and sheds undying fragrance over the grave of Nizami at Ganjah, or the resting-place of Firdusi in his paradise of Tus[1].

Passing, therefore, over these and similarly interesting passages in Mr. Elliott's letter, as belonging more to the critical department of poetic literature than to the history of its authors, I will rather mention a few remarks with which he favoured me in connexion

[1] I must not be supposed to undervalue the merits of the Nawwab's Tazkirah, and still less the great obligation I am under for the use of it, by thus advocating the claims of the original literature of Persia; we owe very much to the zeal and labour of learned Mahometan Indians in commenting and editing some of its most valuable productions; and as a comprehensive work of vast range and extent, both for its judicious compilation from numerous authorities, and labour of learned criticism, as well as from the paramount advantage its author possesses, in being the most modern writer on the subject, Ibrahim Khalil's Suhuf is justly entitled to preference over all others, as the ground-work of Persian Poetical Biography in an European arrangement.

with Lutf Ali's own work, to which subject, indeed, I am entirely indebted for the valuable communication I have so often quoted.

In the first place, Mr. Elliott informed me, that the Atesh Kedah had been lithographed in a quarto volume of 621 pages, printed at Calcutta in the year 1249, H[1].

Also that he is himself the possessor of a beautiful manuscript of the same work, written at Shiraz and Teheran. (He does not mention the date.)

Lastly, that the Nawwab's work, the Suhuf, gives the biography of Lutf Ali, in which, after stating that he was of the tribe of Shamlu, and related to Walí Muhammad Khan Mesrúr, he observes, that in the year 1190, he was informed by Sayyid Muhammad Ali (Nálih Takhallus), that the Hajji was then residing in Isfahan, where he was highly respected, and esteemed one of the first poets of the age. Further, the Nawwab had heard that the Hajji had compiled a Tazkirah, but had never seen it, nor any more of his poetry than the few verses which he quotes as specimens[2].

I am happy to find this record, by a native writer, of the advanced period at which Lutf Ali was still living, tend to confirm the date I had assumed on a previous consideration of his work.

I have also to observe, that the single accession of Mr. Elliott's copy of the Atesh Kedah, to the number already known to us, proves its rarity and consequent value had not been much overrated, the three years following my inquiry having disclosed only this one additional manuscript.

The Khulásat ul Kelám, or rather the volume of it, contained in our library[3], and the only copy I have been able to consult, is a very

[1] A copy has been since received from India by M. Garcin de Tassy, who, with his usual kindness, and in anticipation of my wishes, has obliged me with the use of it.

[2] Lutf Ali Beg appears as a poet also in Abu Talib's Tazkirah, where, in the supplement, two couplets of a Ghazal are attached to his name as Azar, but unaccompanied by a single line of memoir. His contemporary Wálih, in his Tazkirah supplies a short notice of Azar, Lutf Ali Beg, in which after stating his relationship to Weli Muhammad Khan (already known), he mentions Azar's extraordinary poetic talent at an early age, being at that time only twenty-five years old, and adds to the particulars of his literary history, that his first Takhallus was *Wálid* (Father), which he afterwards changed for that of *Nukhat* (Perfume), and lastly fixed it as Azar, by which he is usually known. Wálih does not, of course, mention the Atesh Kedah, which was commenced after the completion of his own Tazkirah.

[3] Presented by Sir John Malcolm, May 19, 1827, No. 147 of Mr. Morley's Catalogue. The MS. bears the title جلد اول تذكره خلاصة الكلام &c., to which is added, درين جلد هشتاد و چهار مثنوي منتخب است

large folio of 405 leaves, containing twenty-five lines of prose, or fifty couplets of poetry in a full page. The writing is large and distinct, and its contents perfect. Unfortunately, as already observed, it is only the first volume, comprehending the letters Alif to Sád, the lives being arranged in alphabetical order, to the number of thirty-eight[1]. This copy is furnished with an Index of the poets' names, and reference to the page.

From the preface, written in a plain style, and comprised in two pages, the undertaking appears to have been commenced in the sixteenth year of Shah Alam, with the use of numerous authorities which are cited by name, and to have been completed in the twenty-seventh year of that Emperor's reign, of the Hijrah 1198[2], under the auspices of Governor-General Warren Hastings. The usual topics are discussed, the praise of poetry, the author's love of his subject and early attachment to poetic studies, and the advantages he proposes from his work, of which he names no less than seventeen Tazkirahs as authorities.

The memoirs are mostly brief, occupying seldom more than a single page. The extracts are, therefore, the more full. Their interest and value may be appreciated from a rapid survey, which enables us to judge of the merits of the whole work; if, indeed, the remaining portion was completed according to the author's design, or if it is still extant.

In this volume we have eighteen pages of extract from the very rare poem of Asadi of Tús, Firdusi's contemporary and teacher, called the Gershasp Nameh, of which scarcely even mention is made in his life by most other authors; fourteen pages of the Jámi Jem, the mystical poem of Auhadi of Maraghah; thirty-five of the Hamlahi Haidarí, an epic by Rafíâ Bázil on the heroic actions of the first four Khalifs[3]; twenty pages of the Muhayti Aázam[4], and other works of Mirza Bídil, of whom a long memoir is given; fifty-six pages of extract are from Zulali's very scarce Khamsah; twenty-six from various poems of Shefáí[5], as the Mihr u Muhabbat, Dídahi Bidár,

[1] About half the number contained in the whole, according to Mr. Elliott's account; the division of the alphabet being also in the same proportion, it would seem that we possess just half the entire work.

[2] The Nawwab's Hindustani Tazkirah, the Gulzári Ibrahím, was completed the same year:—see M. de Tassy's work.

[3] Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo's MSS., No. LXVIII.

[4] محیط اعظم

[5] نمکدان حقیقت — دیده بیدار — مهر و محبت
"Love and Friendship," "The Wakeful Eye," and the "Saltcellar of Divine Truth." Sherfuddín Hasan, Shefáí, of Isfahan died 1037.

and Nemekdáni Hakíkat; and from the Cazá u Cadr of Selím[1], all compositions of the greatest rarity. There are considerable extracts from the Nán u Halwa[2] of Behâí Amuli[3]; from the Khusru and Shírín of Jelal Jaâfar, one of the scarcest versifications of that favourite romance; from the Zádi Musafirín[4], or Pilgrim's Wallet, a mystical poem of Husaini; from a very rare Sákí Námeh of Ibrahím Adhem, and another by Riza, his father[5]. Shorter specimens, though of great value also, as exhibiting poems otherwise inaccessible to us, introduce us to the Maâráj ul Khayál[6] of Tejelli, the Túti Námeh of Hamíd of Lahor[7]; Mesnawis of Sábit, Ashná, Ibrahim of Delhi, Khâlis, Khájú of Kirmán, Dáâí, and the Jósh u Khurósh of Arzu[8], himself also a biographer of his brother poets. Besides these valuable extracts,—valuable both from their copiousness and from the rare quality of the works they represent, there are passages of equal extent from the more popular poems of the Hadícah, and Bustán; from Ahli's two Mesnawis; from the Tuhfat ul Irákain; those of Ali Hazin and the Khamsahs of Jami and Amir Khusru, which two authors alone furnish, the one 115 and the other 160 pages, equal to between thirteen and fourteen thousand couplets[9].

It would be vain to attempt an analysis of the contents of the Suhufi Ibrahim. One of the most valuable features of the edition is, in the copy I am using, the facility of reference from the arrangement being in one simple series, in alphabetic, though not strictly in

[1] Muhammad Culi of Teheran, a contemporary of Lutf Ali Beg Azar.

[2] نان و حلوا Major Stewart's Catalogue, No. LXXIV., called there the "Loaf and the Cake."

[3] بهای عاملی Shaikh Behá uddín Muhammad of Amul in Khorasan, died at Isfahan 1030.

[4] زاد مسافرین Also in Tippoo's Library, No. LXXIV. Sayyid Maulana Husaini Sádát, called Husaini. Hammer's Redekünste, &c. No. LXXII.

[5] رضای ارتمانی A poet of the time of Shah Abbas.

[6] معراج الخیال Mulla Ali Rizâí Tejelli was of Yezd, and died 1088.

[7] حمید لهوری—ثابت—اشنا—ابرهیم خلیفه دهلوی—خالص—خواجوی کرمانی—داعی

[8] جوش و خروش Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzu is author of the Tazkirah called Majmâ ul Nefáïs, of which mention will be made later.

[9] In the manuscript title to this copy, the volume is said to contain eighty-four Mesnawis in all.

lexicographic order[1], and the memoirs being numbered under each letter to correspond with an index at the commencement of the volume; thus sparing a translator one of the most troublesome operations necessary before making use of most manuscript collections of memoir.

The preface affords few particulars in addition to those already obtained. It alludes to the professional duties which had long postponed the completion of the author's early and favourite project, the composition of a Tazkirah, for which he had qualified himself by long study and by the collection of vast materials, seventy-two volumes being at hand during the time in which he was engaged in it[2]. He states his plan of dividing his work into two parts, already named, and in the arrangement of extracts, proposes to class them according to the Radíf. This preface fills only four pages, and concludes with a Tarikh contained in four lines, of which the last gives the date, 1205.

[3] چو تاریخ اتمام جستم زهاتف
بگفتا بگو نفع بخش زمانه

The author allows himself no place among the poets of his collection, as practised by many of his predecessors, nor does his preface enter into details of his private history or of his family. The date of his death is fixed by M. de Tassy[4], 1793 or 1794 of the Christian era, corresponding with 1208 of the Hijrah.

[1] The author has however, as he states in his preface, taken pains to place together poets with the same, or similar names, so as in some degree to assist still further those who consult his work.

[2] At least twenty Tazkirahs are quoted by name in various parts of his work, and lives of thirteen of their authors are found among the memoirs.

[3] This Tarikh would appear, therefore, to be the production of Ahmed Hátif of Isfahan, one of the most distinguished of the very modern poets of Persia. His memoir in the Suhuf relates his intimacy with its author, and he appears in Lutf Ali's work, of whom also he was the contemporary and friend, to have been distinguished for his skill in Chronogram.

[4] From a verse of the Indian poet Jurát; vide Life of Nawwab Ali, *Ibrahim*, "Hist. de la Litt. Hindoui," &c. The memoir of Jurát in the Suhuf is thus given.

جرات دهلوی نامش قلندر بخش ولد خافظ امان دهلویست نظم ریختهرا که مخلوط بزبان هندی و فارسي است نیکو میگوید و بموزوني طبع گاهي دو مصرع فارسي بهم پیوند و راقم اثم احوالش در تذکره ریخته نوشته است

The Suhuf frequently alludes to its twin brother, the Tazkirahi Rekhtah, by which name the Gulzári Ibrahím is always designated in that work.

The preceding sketches illustrate all the hitherto undescribed works on biography, which I am at present able to quote from actual inspection. It remains to notice briefly those others, which seem less accessible, naming them as nearly in chronological order as our scanty data will allow, and concluding with such as cannot yet be classed, or are almost of doubtful existence.

Even in its present incomplete state we have now a series of authorities of great importance, and the eighteen Tazkirahs already described, including those which have been made known by other contributions, form a code of Biographical Law, from the earliest antiquity of the poetic art in Persia to the present time. Of these, Al Aufi, Muhammad, is the founder of the faith, and is followed by the four authorities, Al Ráshidín, universally acknowledged and esteemed; unless, perhaps, Ali Shír (Ali the Lion) may, like the hero and guardian of the Shiahs, hold with some a disputed rank, and the Mejális ul Nefáïs be considered rather a Turki, than a Persian biography. The authors of the twelve other Tazkirahs now known to us (Nos. II. to XII., including the Atesh Kedah), equalling in number and authority the spiritual Pontiffs of Islamism, may be called the twelve Imams or directors of our poetic creed; Ibrahim Khalíl being the Mehdi, whose second self, the lost portion of his Suhuf, we may hope is only slumbering in the gloom of some uncatalogued Kutubkhaneh, to which it has mysteriously disappeared, and from whence we are yet to expect its radiant re-appearance.

میخانه و بتخانه

The Maikhaneh u Butkhaneh of Mulla Súfi appears to possess a higher claim to antiquity than any of the other works now first described, reference being made to it in Tahir's preface, where it is placed in the list of his authorities, apparently arranged in chronological order, as taking precedence even of the Tazkirah of Taki Káshi. The exact date of its composition is not mentioned, but it occupies the period between Taki's work and that of Sam Mirza. I find no other reference to the Maikhaneh, as an authority, and the only life of the author I have as yet met with, is in the Suhuf, in which "Maulana Muhammad Súfi" is stated to have been a native of Mazenderan, and in the year 1038 to have been a resident of Ahmedabad in Gujerat, and afterwards, for some time, of Kashmir; to have been a distinguished follower of Sufyism, and to have arranged a collection of poetry, principally from the Diwans of ancient writers. By desire of the Emperor Jehangir he came from Kashmir, but arriv-

ing at Serhind, died there. The memoir adds, that, although biographers have classed him under the letter M, yet he used both his names, Muhammad, and Súfi, as a Takhallus.

مجمع الفضلا

The work of Mulla Bacáí, بقاى which comprises from the time of the commencement of poetry till the reign of Akber Shah[1]. (Preface to Khazaneh).

In the Suhuf we have the life of Mir Bacáí of Tafrash, whose name was Abúl Bacá, and who was contemporary with Shah Abbas, and is said to have written a Tazkirat ul Shuara in an elegant style, containing the poets of the reign of the Emperor Akber Shah, but which had not been seen by his biographer.

كعبهٔ عرفان — فردوس خيال

The Kaábahi Irfán, and Firdúsi Khayál, both by Auhadi, have already been noticed in the account of his larger work, of which the one was the precursor, and the other, an abridgment.

خوشگو

Khúshgú is quoted in the Suhuf, and in Sir Gore Ouseley's "Notices of Thirty-one Persian Poets," Bindraban Khushgu's work is referred to from Sir Gore's own inspection. The author is there said to have been intimately acquainted with the Indian poet Faizi, and must therefore have flourished in the reign of the Emperor Akber. The quotations refer to his work as being a Biography, as well as Anthology.

ماثر رحيمى

Quoted in the preface to the Khulasat ul Kelam as one of its authorities.

In Major Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library, No. XXXV., is a copy of the "Muásiri Rehimy (ماثر رحيمى), Memoirs of Abdal Rehim Khan Khanan[2], Vizier, and of all the illustrious nobles, authors, and poets who resided at the court of Akber. Author, Abd al Baky, A.D. 1613." It is questionable, from this description, whether the work can be considered strictly a Tazkirat ul Shuara.

[1] Akber Shah reigned from 967 to 1014. Shah Abbas began to reign 994.

[2] Rahím was also his Takhallus. A memoir of this distinguished nobleman, who was himself a poet, as well as being celebrated as a patron of poets, is found in the Suhuf. He was born A.D. 964, and died at the age of eighty-two.

The Suhuf, in the life of Shaikh Faizi, quotes the Mûásiri Rahími[1], and calls its author Faizi's contemporary.

تذکرۂ ناظم تبریزی

The Tazkirah of Názim of Tabríz, mentioned in the preface to the Khazanah, has also been used in the compilation of the Khulasat ul Kelam, the author of which, in his other work, the Suhuf, gives the following notice of Názim, as a biographer and a poet.

"Muhammad Sádic, Tabrízi, whose poetic name is Názim, and who was brother to Muhammad Rizá Beg, Merwárid Ferósh, fixed his residence in Abbasabad, in Isfahan. He was distinguished by praiseworthy qualities and agreeable manners, and was quite free from all worldly attachments. He kept company chiefly with the godly and pious, and from poverty and affliction mixed little in the society of men. After performing the pilgrimage to the Holy Kaabah, he came in the year 1037, to India, where he met with Taki Auhadi, the Biographer. He is author of a Mesnawi, called Fírúz u Sháhbáz (فیروز و شاهباز) and wrote much poetry besides. One of his works is a Biography of Poets, which he arranged by the desire of Shah Abbas, and in which he has only inserted Ghazals and Rubáí's. The memoirs are in an abridged form, but he has shown much judgment in his selection of specimens." His life is also given by Mirza Táhir, who says, he composed "an abridged Tazkirah," and died a few years previous to the time at which he was writing.

تذکرة الشعرا لباباشاه

The above title is given by Hajji Khalfa, among Persian works on this subject, and is copied from him by D'Herbelot, but no reference is made to it by any other oriental author. Hajji Khalfa wrote his Encyclopædia, A.D. 1062, but beyond this vague indication, I have no means of fixing the date of Babashah's Tazkirah[2].

The Suhuf names a poet Baba Shah of Isfahan, of the time of Abbas II. This would be too late for Hajji Khalfa's notice.

[1] معاصر رحیمی but as it is written ماثر in the Nawwab's other Tazkirah, and, I think, elsewhere in the Suhuf, it may here be a mistake, in repetition of the word معاصر "contemporary."

صاحب معاصر رحیمی که معاصر اوست

[2] It also stands in the list of Tazkirahs of Poets, page 96 of the Parnasse Oriental; probably inserted on the authority mentioned above.

The Suhuf also gives a memoir of "Maulána Sháh Shubli, a contemporary of Taki Auhadi, a poet well skilled in versification, who composed a Mesnawi in the measure of the Tuhfat ul Irákain (of Khacáni), and arranged also a Tazkirat ul Shuâra." Possibly this author is the Bábá Sháh of Hajji Khalfa, already mentioned? The early date, as being in Auhadi's time, would make it probable, and the titles of Bábá or Maulána, common to Derwishes and holy men, might well be applied indifferently to one and the same person.

لطايف الخيال

The Latáïf ul Khayál, is quoted in the Suhuf, by its full name, and also as the Latáïf. There is a copy of it in the collection of Professor Duncan Forbes. The work is described in Major Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo's Library to have been "commenced by Mirza Muhammad Sálah, A.D. 1731; and finished by Jâfer Nasíry in 1742; and to contain memoirs of the authors, as well as specimens of their poetry." It is, however, merely an Anthology.

Professor Forbes's manuscript is a very thick octavo volume, in which the preface is entirely devoted to the description of the author's arrangement of his extracts, without giving any further information than the title of the work, Latáïf ul Khayál, and that he made an abridgment of it, called the Khulásahi Latáïf ul Khayál. In a Casidah, however, which follows the preface, and contains the praise of his performance, he calls himself Muhammad Sálih[1], and the last line forms a Tarikh of its completion[2], 1104. The selection is from numerous authors, but unaccompanied by any memoir. The arrangement is alphabetical, according to the final letter, in the manner of a classed Diwan, and each specimen is merely headed with the poet's name.

كلمات الشعرا[3]

The only work which distinctly quotes this Tazkirah is the Khazanahi Aamirah in its very full and interesting catalogue of authorities. "Kelimát ul Shuâra by Serkhúsh, which same name forms the Tarikh of its commencement[3]. The date of its completion was 1122, according to the year stated in figures at the end of the

[1] سعی بنمود میرزا صالح
جمع فرمود میرزا صالح

[2] شد گل انتخاب تاریخش

[3] The letters of the title give 1093.

book." All the other information to be obtained, is in the memoirs of the author given in the biographical part of the same work, in the Macalat, the Suhuf, and by Abu Talib. Of these, as in most other cases, that in the Suhuf is the best. "Serkhúsh Hindi, whose name was Muhammad Afzal (son of Muhammad Záhid) was attached to the court of Abdallah Khan Rahmi. He was born in Kashmír, in the reign of Shah Jehan 1050; was educated by Hakkák Shirázi, and Muhammad Ali Máhir, and was recognized by Mirza Muîzz Fitrat and his contemporaries, as one of the standard poets of the time. In the reign of the Emperor Alamgir he settled in Delhi, and in the reign of Farrukhsír died, at the age of seventy-six, A.H. 1127. (Abu Talib makes his death 1126.) He wrote a compendous Tazkirah on the lives of the poets of the time of Shah Jehan and Alamgir, and called it Kelimat ul Shuara. Khushgu, who was a pupil of his, writes in his own Tazkirah, that the entire works of Serkhúsh, [comprising the Mesnawi called Núri Ali (The Light of Ali), and another named Husn u Ishc (Beauty and Love), with a Sákí Nameh, and a Shah Namehi Muhammad Aázam Shah, amount to near forty thousand couplets, but that they are not in general circulation. Serkhúsh was a companion of Shaikh Násir Ali and Mirza Bédil." Abu Talib calls him Muhammad Afzal Ali Serkhúsh, and says his Tazkirah was highly esteemed.

The Khazaneh gives a similar biography, and praises both his poetry and his Tazkirah, from which it quotes an anecdote of Saidi, (صیدی) a poet of Teheran, a friend and companion of Serkhúsh, which introduces a Quatrain of his composition, followed by another specimen translated from a Hindi couplet, of which the original is given, as well as the Persian version.

همیشه بهار

Perpetual Spring. "The work of Ikhlás (اخلاص) of Sháhjehanábád, of which the title is the Tarikh of its composition, and from it is obtained the year 1136[1]." Preface to the Khazaneh.

The life of Ikhlás is given in the Suhuf, thus; "Ikhlás of Dehli, his name Kishnchand, son of Achal Dás Kahni[2], and pupil of Abdul Ghanni Beg Cabúl (قبول). He composed a very brief Biography of Poets, called Hemísheh Behar, which the author of the present work

[1] The value of the letters must be doubled for this date.

[2] کشنچند ولد اچل داس کهتي

has seen. He passed from this perishable resting-place in the reign of Ahmad Sháh son of Muhammad Sháh[1]." The Suhuf quotes the Hemísheh Behar in several places.

حیات الشعرا[2]

"The work of Muhammad Ali Khán Matín (متین) of Kashmír, who wrote the lives of the poets from the glorious reign of Bahádur Shah[2] till the peaceful reign of Muhammad Shah[3]." Preface to Khazaneh.

I do not find the life of the author in any Tazkirah. The Suhuf has a "Shaikh Abdul Rizá Matín," born at Isfahan, who settled in Delhi at the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, but they can hardly be identified.

ید بیضا — سرو آزاد

The Yadi Bayza, and Servi Azád[4], are both by the author of the Khazanahi Aamirah, and are mentioned in the preface to that Tazkirah.

"Yadi Bayza, by the author of the present work, on the lives of the ancient and modern poets. I composed the beginning of this book in Sívestán in Sind, and it obtained extensive circulation. After my return from Sind to Hind, having destroyed that copy, I wrote another in the year 1148, and arranged this hemistich as its Tarikh طبع کلیم نمود ید بیضا[5]. Many of the sources from which it was compiled, being now no longer available, viz.; the Nefáïs ul Maásir, the Subhi Sádic, the Tazkirah of Názim of Tabríz, that of Mulla Cátâí, and others, I have transferred a great part of the old materials into the Khazanahi Aamirah."

Of the Servi Azad, its author in the Khazanah merely gives the date of the composition, 1166. It was used by Ibrahim Khalil, and is referred to in his preface to the Suhuf.

[1] Ahmad Shah reigned A.H. 1160 to 1167.

[2] Bahadur Shah began to reign A.H. 1119.

[3] Muhammad Shah began to reign A.H. 1130.

[4] The Yadi Bayza is an allusion to the "White Hand" of Moses. Servi Azád, an image of frequent use among the Persian poets, plays on the name of the author, Ghulámi Alí Azád.

[5] These letters give the number 1108 only; possibly it should be نمودم, by which the additional 40 would be obtained.

نفایس المآثر — صبح صادق — تذکرهٔ ملا قاطعی

These three works, from which it has just been stated that the author of the Yadi Bayza derived some of his materials, are not named elsewhere. The Suhuf quotes, in one place, the Nefáïs ul *Asr*. (نفایس الاثر) The Subhi Sádic is the name given in Persia to the true dawn, in distinction from the first, or early appearance of light, which they call Subhi Kázib[1], and the allusion here is perhaps to the author's name, or poetical name, being Sádic[2], though I cannot obtain any information from memoirs of the many poets so called[3]. Neither does Cátâí occur as a Takhallus in these Tazkirahs. We have no means of judging by how much these works were anterior to the author who quotes them, but we have already seen that they were no longer extant in the latter part of his life. They may, therefore, be supposed to have been of very early date.

سفینهٔ بیخبر

"The work of Azamat Ullah Bíkhabar of Balgrám, which was composed in the year 1141." Preface to the Khazaneh.

The Suhuf gives the life of "Bíkhabar Balgrámi, son of that learned mystic, Mír Lutf Allah, whose Takhallus was Ahmadi; his family was of the Husaini Sayyids of Wásit, who settled at Balgrám." The memoir further states him to have been an accomplished Sufi, skilled in music, and in the art of writing Shikasteh, and much esteemed among the poets of his time. He is stated to have died A.H. 1142. The author of the Suhuf mentions having seen the Diwan of Bíkhabar, but does not name any biographical work by him. The life of his father, Ahmadi, is also given in its proper place, and his death placed in the year 1041, which date can hardly be reconciled with the period at which his son lived. In the same work is to be found Bikhabar's son, Mir Nawázish Ali Fakír, died 1167.

[1] صبح کاذب See Waring's "Tour to Sheeraz," page 107.

[2] Názim of Tabríz was called Sádic; perhaps his Tazkirah, to which no special name is given by the Suhuf or Khazanah, may be the Subhi Sádic?

[3] I have since noticed in Sir W. Ouseley's "Catalogue," &c., the "Subh Sadek," described as a Tarikh, or History of Kings, and celebrated and learned men, by "Mahammed Sadek Isfahani." This is probably the same work.

[4] I am not aware of the exact title of the work. It is so called in the only authority which mentions it; but the word Sefínah may also here be used only in its comprehensive and very usual sense of *book*.

مجمع النفایس

I have not at present access to a copy of this work, but it is contained in the library of the late Sir Gore Ouseley, and is described by that lamented and distinguished orientalist in his "Notices of Thirty-one Persian Poets," shortly to be published by the Oriental Translation Fund, to whose Committee it has descended as a mournful bequest from their amiable and accomplished chairman. Having been favoured by a perusal of the sheets while in the press, I have made use of it for some additional particulars to a few of the subjects of the latter part of this sketch.

Besides the notice in Sir Gore's work, and a very full biography by M. de Tassy, (Littérature Hindoui, &c.,) in which his Persian Tazkirah is mentioned, memoirs of Sirájuddin Ali Khan Arzu are given in both the works of the Nawwab Ibrahim, in the Macalat ul Shuara, in the Atesh Kedah, and by Abu Talib. No additions of any importance are to be derived from these, to the researches of the two Orientalists named above. A very long list of Arzu's compositions, poetical and otherwise, is given in the Suhuf; the last of these is his biographical work, but without any critical observation on its merits. Among the celebrated poets of his time with whom Sirajuddin associated, Mirza Bídil and Mir Ghulámi Ali Ahsani are especially mentioned. The Khazanahi Aámirah, in naming the Mejma ul Nefaïs as an authority, says, it was compiled chiefly from the Tazkirah of Mirza Tahir Nasrabadi, and that of Taki Auhadi of Isfahan.

مردم دیده

"Merdumi Dídah[1], by Shah Abdul Hakím, Governor of Lahór, who compiled it in 1175 at Aurangabad, and inserted in it whatever poetry he had seen." (Preface to the Khazaneh, in whose list of authorities it is the last, and latest in date.)

I find no other notice of it, nor can I meet with a memoir of the life of any Abdul Hakím of Lahór.

تذکرهٔ بینظیر

"The work of Mir Abdul Wahháb of Daulatábád, which put on

[1] "The Apple of the Eye." It is difficult, except from the explanation of the authors themselves, where we have the advantage of it, to guess the application of the titles they give their works. Where they do not contain the author's name, or an allusion to his patron, they are frequently put together merely with a view of forming a chronogram, which, however, in the present instance, cannot be the object.

the musky garb of composition in the year 1178, and of which the name forms the date." (Khazaneh, which is the only work that mentions it.) No poet whose Takhallus is Bínazír[1], has a work of this kind ascribed to him.

گل رعنا

Guli Râna, "The Beautiful Rose," is named by Ibrahim Khalil, in the Preface to his Khulasat ul Kelam, as one of his authorities, and is also frequently cited in the Suhuf[2]. It is described by Mr. Erskine, in the Bombay Transactions[3], as "the work of Latchmi Naryán, who flourished at Hyderabad at the end of the XVIIIth or beginning of the XIXth century;" and from an extract given, is shown to contain biography as well as extracts.

بياض باطنى

The Bayázi Bátini is quoted in the Suhuf only, and without any information as to the author, though I should suppose him to have been called Bátin or Bátiní[4], and to be so alluded to in the title of his book. It may be simply a Bayaz, or Album of Selections.

مخزن الغرايب

My only acquaintance with this Tazkirah, which is not quoted by any native author, is from the following account of it given me by Mr. Elliott, in whose possession, I presume, there is a copy.

"The Tazkirah named Makhzan ul Gharáïb, compiled at Delhi by Shaikh Ahmed Ali Khan, and consisting of 1012 folio pages, appears to be a most valuable compilation, and the author, in his preface, professes to have consulted the principal Tazkirahs. It clearly contains a much larger body of poetry than the Atesh Kedah, and probably many specimens of the Persian poets, not elsewhere to be met with."

(Majmúâhi Shuârâi Tazkirah Mánand[5], "Collection de Poëtes semblables au Mémorial.")

A work is described by M. Charmoy (Expédition d'Alexandre le

[1] بينظير "Incomparable;" therefore, perhaps, the "Incomparable Biography," or the "Biography of Bínazír." So Tuhfahi Sami, "The Royal or Sublime Present," as well as the "Present of Sám (Mirza)."

[2] Also in Sir Gore Ouseley's "Notices," &c.

[3] Vol. II., page 374.

[4] Bátini appears, as the name of a poet of Balkh; but his biographer, Ibrahim, had no means of giving any account of his works.

[5] مجموعهٔ شعراء تذكرهٔ مانند The MS. described was in the collection of Ardebíl.

Grand, page 78), as containing very copious extracts from the compositions of thirty-eight poets, with brief memoirs closely following those of Daulatshah, and some even copied literally from his Tazkirah. I have, therefore, not included it in the list given, page 111, being uncertain whether to consider it as an original, and, consequently, distinct work.

To the above list may, perhaps, be added, a Tazkirat ul Shuara of Muhammad Bakhtáwar Khán, quoted by Lieut. Newbold, in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science[1]. In the same article, "Mahmúd Bacá," is stated to have "assisted Muhammad Bakhtáwar Khán in the compilation of his Shigurf Nameh;" which was probably the title of the Biography, "and to have died in Sharpenúr, A.H., 1094." In the life of Firdusi, in the same series of notices, a work called *Sham-i Guribán* is named; apparently also a Tazkirah of Poets. I am ignorant of the precise nature of these two works, and know of no other reference to them. The Khazaneh refers also, in Azad's life, to a work called the Maásir ul Kirán[2], but without distinguishing it either as a poetical biography or as mere historical memoirs.

Ghafúrí (Ghéfouri) is named in the Parnasse Oriental of M. Rousseau, in the list given, p. 96, of Persian Biographers. His life appears also among the poets in that work. "Ghéfouri (Ahmed) né á Cazwin. On lui doit une Anthologie Persane avec de courtes notices sur les poètes, dont elle renferme les productions choisies." This is, no doubt, the Cází Ahmed Abdul Ghaffár, called also Ghaffári, of Cazwin, author of the historical Nigaristan, to which, I am inclined to think, the Parnasse alludes, as it contains, perhaps, a greater number of poetical quotations with the names of the poets prefixed, than most other prose compositions; or possibly to Ghaffári's other historical work, the Jehan Ará, to which some biographical references are made in Sir Gore Ouseley's Notices. The memoir of Ahmed Ghaffari of Cazwin is found in many authors, but no allusion whatever to any Tazkirah of his on the lives of the poets. The name of *Ghafúri* does not occur either as a poet or biographer, as far as I have yet made inquiry.

[1] "Brief Notices of some of the Persian Poets." 1836. It is, however, more probably the Mirát ul Aálam, or Tárikh of Bakhtáwar Khán, also found in Sir W. Ouseley's Catalogue, and said to contain, besides general history, an account of poets in alphabetical order. No. 371 of the same Catalogue, a Tazkirat ul Shuárái Jehangírsháhí, it is doubtful whether to assign to Persian or Indian biography.

[2] مآثر القران

It may be curious, perhaps, to examine the references made to this class of Oriental literature by European writers; the number will be found, till lately, very circumscribed.

D'Herbelot, whose source of bibliography was Hajji Khalfa's work, quotes direct from him the well-known names of Daulatshah, Sam Mirza, and Ali Shir, with Baba Shah and Al Haufi.

Major Macan, in his preface to the Shah Nameh, mentions "Dowletshah, Ali Koolee Khan (*i. e.* Wálih Daghistáni), Lootif Alee Khan, author of the Atush Kudda, and Sheer Khan Lodee."

Mr. Scott Waring, in the portion of his agreeable "Narrative of a Tour to Sheeraz," devoted to the literature of the country, says "the only two of their biographical works I have ever heard of, are the Lives of the Poets by Doulut Shah, and the Atush Kudu."

M. de Sacy, to whom we are indebted for a detailed analysis of Daulatshah's work, and of that of Sám, says "Nous connaissons plusieurs ouvrages qui portent le tître de Tezkiret al Schoara," &c.; but, unfortunately, has not left us information of their titles or author.

Von Hammer, as the biographical ground-work of his History of Persian Literature, had used the Tazkirahs of Daulatshah and Sám, and the Beharistan, which, with the Atesh Kedah, he styled "the four pedestals on which the dome of Persian poetic literature and literary history reposes[1]."

The whole number of works on this subject, as quoted by European Orientalists, amounts but to nine or ten at most[2]. The list furnished in the first page of these sketches presents a series of names, of which, after allowing for some few of doubtful existence, and rejecting those which, like the Latáïf ul Khayál, may be rather anthologies than memoirs, or which, as abridgements of larger works, or for other reasons, have a disputed claim, the number will, with such additions as suggested themselves later, fall little short of *forty* works, partially or

[1] Von diesen vier Grund- und Ehrensaülen, auf denen der Dom persischer Dichterbiographik und Anthologik ruht.—Schœne Redekünste Persiens, Vorrede. Why should not our continued and increasing communication with the East, and our improved knowledge of its literary treasures, which in the last thirty years have multiplied our sources of poetical biography from four to forty, in the same progression, still more than double the present number, till the Valhalla of the Persian Poets shall be like Thebes, ἑκατόμπυλος, or hundred-gated, a biographical صد در?

[2] Sir Gore Ouseley's "Notices," already mentioned, refers also to Nos. III., IV., V., VI., and X. of those now described, and it is probable that his library may contain several others, which might, had I availed myself of the opportunity, have furnished a more complete account of those which are enumerated in the latter part of this sketch.

wholly accessible to research, their subject being now known, and their existence at some period or other of literary history being proved certain.

Upon these *forty* columns, then, reposes the vast dome of Persian poetic literature. Less durable perhaps, and of less gigantic proportions, than the Cyclopean masses which exalt the stately temple of her sister science (History), the fane of Persian Poetry presents a fairy fabric, whose graceful, though fantastic architecture offers no less interest in exploring its ruins, and decyphering its secrets, than the perennial monuments of massive rock, on which History has engraved her archives. Let us hope that while the learned and laborious efforts of Eastern travel give light and life to the long mysterious and undecyphered characters of Persepolitan antiquity, pilgrims in the less rugged path of poetic literature may not be wanting, to restore, column after column, this Chihelminar of Persian Biography; which, although its outline is as yet but faintly sketched, we need not still despair of seeing restored in all its beauty of detail.

J. Basire del. & sc.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF KÁBÚL, &c.

Art. VI.—*On the Coins of the Dynasty of the Hindú Kings of Kábul.* By Edward Thomas, Esq., *Bengal Civil Service.*

[*Read 6th June,* 1846.]

In a work by M. Reinaud, entitled, Fragmens Arabes et Persans relatifs à l'Inde, lately published at Paris, is to be found the following translation of a passage from the Arabic Manuscript of Abúl Rihan Mohammed Albírúní, which enables Indian numismatists to fix both a kingdom and a date for a class of coins, regarding the history of which much uncertainty has up to this time prevailed: Albírúní's original Arabic version, designated Taríkh-i-Hind, was composed in India between the years 1030 and 1033 A.D. His evidence, therefore, in the present instance is of the highest value, as having been committed to writing in the country to which it refers, at a period immediately contemporaneous with the existence of one of the short list of kings whose history it concerns.

"Le dernier roi de cette dynastie[1] fut Laktouzeman. Ce prince avait pour vizir un Brahmane nommé Kaller. Ce vizir etait favorisé par la fortune, et il trouva dans la terre des trésors qui lui donnèrent de la force et accrurent sa puissance. D'un autre côté, la fortune tourna le dos à son maître. En effet, il y avait bien long temps que cette famille était maîtresse du pouvoir. Laktouzeman prit une direction mauvaise; il se livra à une conduite honteuse; et, comme les plaintes arrivaient de tout côté au vizir, celui-ci fit charger le prince de chaînes et l'enferma pour le corriger. Ensuite le vizir se laissa aller à la tentation d'être le maître unique: il avait des richesses suffisantes pour lever tous les obstacles. Il s'empara donc du trône et eut pour successeur le Brahme Sâmanda. Celui-ci fut remplacé par Kamalavâ, puis vinrent successivement Bheema, Djayapâla, Anandapala, et Nardadjanpâla. Celui-ci monta dit-on, sur le trône l'an 412 de l'Hegire (1021 de J. C.). Son fils, Bheemapâla, lui succeda au bout de cinq ans. La souveraineté Indienne s'eteignit dans la personne de ce dernier, et il ne resta plus d'individu de cette famille pour souffler le feu[2]."

Prior to the discovery of this passage, the kingdoms and epochs

[1] The Túrk Kings of Kábul. The previous relation closes with the reign of Kank.

[2] "La nouvelle dynastie me paraît avoir remplacé le Bouddhisme par le Brahmanisme, et j'attribue à ces princes la série de médailles que M. Wilson a crue d'origine Rajepout."—Reinaud.

Journal R. As

assigned to the dynasty who had issued the series of coins, heretofore denominated Rájpút, were manifold indeed. However, admitting all the doubt reasonably attendant upon the early discovery of a limited number of medals, and marking the various and unlooked-for ramifications into which this class of coins eventually extended, we may, in the case in point, fairly claim a degree of credit of no ordinary character for the science of Numismatics, which in spite of all obstacles enabled the admirable Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, James Prinsep, to announce with confidence so long ago as 1837, on information derived almost solely from the medals themselves and their places of discovery, that the species of coins which form the subject of the present notice, extended "upwards to the Brahmanical rulers of the Punjáb, and probably of Kábul:" an opinion now seen to be justified to the very letter.

Professor Wilson also, in adjudging the coin of Prithví Raja to its right owner, the last Hindú king of Delhi (A.D. 1192), was able to conjecture, with some certainty, that the early princes of the dynasty, who had introduced medals of the like device, had reigned in the Punjáb at the end of the tenth, and early part of the eleventh century. In addition, then, to a confirmation of the speculations of Professor Wilson and James Prinsep, we derive, from this passage in Albírúní, the distinct information, that a Brahmanical dynasty succeeded a race of Túrk kings in Kábul. A full list of these Brahman sovereigns, brought down to a time when other Mohammedan authors begin to notice Indian history, enables us, in a most satisfactory manner, to make a correct attribution of a very extensive, if not important, class of medals.

The dates of the reigns of the last two princes of this line are fixed by Albírúní; and these alone would be sufficient to enable us to form an approximate estimate of the epoch of Samanta, and that of his predecessor, the founder of this dynasty. We have, however, in addition, a singular piece of collateral evidence, illustrative of the period sought, in the discovery of one of Samanta's coins, so lately as 1842, at a place called Obrzycko, in the province of Posen, in company with those of thirty different kings of Europe and Asia, all of whom reigned prior to 975 A.D.[1] Considering the distance this solitary coin of Kábul had to travel, (probably only in the simple course of commerce) prior to its inhumation, in seeking for a satisfactory era for this monarch, we may justly admit a margin of forty or fifty years, pre-

[1] For the notice of this discovery, as bearing upon the era of the Brahman kings of Kábul, we are indebted to M. A. de Longperier, whose valuable communication on this subject is printed at the end of M. Reinaud's work.

vious to this date, and assume his accession at any period proximate to 935 A.D. Over and above these evidences, we find a more specific date for our purpose, and one less removed from the period in question, in the known fact of Jeipál's existence as king of Lahore, prior to the death of Aleptegín, which took place in 796 A.D., as Jeipál is noticed by Mohammedan historians as opposing Sabaktagín in his early expeditions into India, while this last was still only the general of Aleptegín: allowing, then, forty years upwards from 976 (a date by no means proved to be that of the commencement of Jeipál's reign,) for the united reigns of Samanta, Kumlowa, and Bhím, we shall scarcely err in fixing the accession of the first of the three as early as 935 A.D. This mode of computation, however, under any circumstances, is but imperfect, and the utmost the materials at our command enable us to assert with any degree of certainty is that Syala's usurpation took place early in the tenth century.

Before entering upon the question of the identification of any of the doubtful names in our list, it is necessary to premise, that great latitude is to be allowed in any attempt to reconcile Hindú names, written originally in the Sanskrit character, with a transcription of the same into Arabic. All who are acquainted even with the letters of these two languages will be prepared to admit the difficulty here adverted to. The Arabic Manuscript from which the present French translation has been made is acknowledged to be of modern execution: hence, as might be expected, we labour under full disadvantage of the errors of succeeding manuscript copyists. These, were they not amply notorious, are sufficiently proved to have existed in perhaps more than their usual force in the present instance, where M. Reinaud is found giving four possible readings of the name of Nardadjanpál from his own manuscript, besides adverting to three other readings by Otbí and Ferishtah.

Keeping the above in view, then, we propose, instead of endeavouring to identify Hindú names through the mazes of uncertainty of the Arabic manuscript, boldly to correct the Arabic from the unquestionable records of the coins themselves; and instead of applying coins to kings, apply the kings to their own coins.

Before proceeding with the nomenclature of the Brahmanical kings, it may be proper to notice in this place, the coincidence between the Arabic name of the celebrated Túrk king, Kank, کنک, and the Srí Vanka dev श्री वंक देव of the Elephant and Lion type of coin which preceded the Bull and Horseman money introduced by the Brahmans. The similitude of names and the needful correspondence of all avail-

able evidence, are surely sufficient to authorize our indicating Vanka dev, as the hero the history of whose rule immediately precedes the extract above given.

The first king in this Kábul dynasty, named in the Arabic, "Kalar Brahman," is, we have little doubt, the Syalapati of our coins. There is less difference in sound between Syala and Kalar, than would at first be imagined, so that if our translator Albírúní wrote his Arabic version from oral tradition, this slight change in the initial pronunciation of the name would be fairly probable. If this supposition be rejected, there is still in reserve the very likely substitution by succeeding copyists of the Arabic Manuscript, of a ک for an س. It will be seen that in this argument, all account of the latter part of the name found on the coins is rejected. The Pati was probably, as it is at the present day, used as a second name; or we may fairly look upon Syala as a popular abbreviation of the somewhat long title of Syala pati dev.

For the third king's identification, it must be confessed, that we have to demand to the full, all the consideration above claimed, to justify our appropriation of the medal bearing the legend *Khvadavayaka*, or *Khedavayaka*, to our Arabic author's king, کملوا, *Kamlowá:* Khedava and Kumlowa are not, even to liberal ears, quite accordant in sound; still their sounds, with the causes of disturbance stated above, might well be farther removed one from the other. Supposing the original native name to have been correctly rendered into the Arabic in the first instance, the mutation from *Kadává*, کداوا, to *Kamlowá*, کملوا, might easily have occurred. A blot in the middle of the word, or a careless running of one letter into another, would readily convert داو, *dav*, into ملو, *mlu*. The style of coin, as well as the metal it is composed of, agree exactly with those of three out of the four first rulers of our very limited dynasty; so much so, and so much evidence does it bear of belonging to one of the earlier kings of this race, the later princes of our list having adopted a mixed silver and copper currency, that we might almost assume from the negative fact that it does not bear the name of any of the other three princes, that it was once the property of the third Kábul Brahman.

Referring to the name of Nardadjanpál, seeing the uncertainty as to its correct orthography avowed by M. Reinaud, we naturally hesitate in any attempt at numismatic identification, more especially as we are disposed to doubt whether the denomination here quoted is a name at all, and whether it is not rather a mere indication of the rela-

tionship of the successor of Anungpál to his grandfather, the great Jeipál. In the lithographed Persian copy of Ferishtah, the words نبيرۀ جيپال "grandson of Jeipál" have been adopted. The Rózut-al-safá as well as its abridgment the Habib-al-sair, both works of early date and high authority, give no name, mentioning only the accession of Pál, the son of Anungpál.

The readings of the coins of the three other sovereigns in Albírúní's list of whose money we have specimens, do not appear to require any special notice, as the Hindí and Arabic names agree most satisfactorily.

With a view of assuring ourselves of the probable wealth and extent of kingdom of each ruler of this race, it may be as well that we should advert generally to the comparative abundance, as well as to the localities in which this class of coins is discovered. The medals of Syala are found in considerable numbers in Afghánistán. They are, however, comparatively less abundant in the Punjáb, and North of India; whereas, the monies of Samanta, common as they are in and around Kábul, are, we imagine, even more plentiful in the Punjáb, and the north-western provinces of Hindústán. We can at all events, from our own experience, assert that they are met with in surprising quantities in the North of India, and in actual amount and number now preserved, far surpass those of any other Indian king antecedent to the Mohammedan conquest. We are, as yet, aware of the existence of only four specimens of the money of Khedava. The coins of Bhím are found in Kábulistan, but are seldom, if ever, met with in India. The coins of Anungpál are common, and are plentiful in the Punjáb, and the northern parts of the Ganges Dúáb. Of Jeipál, Nardadjanpál, and Bhímpál no medals are known.

Numerous as Syala's coins are, their *boná fide* production, both from his mint and from his own resources, does not appear beyond the reach of probability, explained as it is, in a measure, by Albírúní's mention of his great riches.

To account for the enormous amount of the money of Samanta, there may be assigned two different causes; either, an actual legitimate issue from his mint of the number of coins of which the medals now extant are the representatives, (rendered possible by the magnitude of his possessions); or, the recoinage of the money of his predecessor, arising from a desire of aggrandizing either himself as an individual, or the religion of which he was a prominent follower, by replacing with his own name and a symbol of his creed, those of his predecessors of an opposing faith. Samanta's celebrity, from whatever

source derived, is evidenced by the uniform retention of his name on the coins of his successors, from the time of Anungpál down to the Mohammedan conquest of Delhi in 1192; by the adoption of the device of Nandí, superscribed by his appellation, by the later Ghaznevides; and by the assumption of the Horseman reverse of a coinage at that time completely identified as his, by the Ghoríans, on their first extension of their dominions. It would appear also, from the number of Samanta's proper coins still extant, and the variety of countries they are to be found in, that he must have held under his sway some very rich and extensive kingdom. That under him the original Kábul territory of Syala was carried to the extreme limits of the Punjáb and Sirhind, is rendered likely by the number of his medals still found in those parts, and by the fact, that coins bearing the Brahmanical device conjoined with Samanta's name, and evidently imitations from the Kábul originals, are found in use by his early successors, and regularly continued as the currency of those countries for nearly two centuries. Keeping in view, in this inquiry, that Samanta was not the actual founder of his dynasty,—at all events as far as the original kingdom of Kábul is concerned—if he had not made himself remarkable, either by conquest, or by the advancement of Hindú ascendancy, it is difficult to explain why the name of Syala, the first of the line, was not the one chosen for a mint motto, or even that of Bhím, the last Brahman predecessor (as we shall presently show) of those who introduced the use of bi-nominal coins. This custom, be it observed, was in all likelihood derived from the practice of the Mussulmáns inscribing the titles of the mundane head of their religion on the reverses of their medals, but in the present instance the name of Samanta supplied the place of the Moslím Imám; if the idea now advanced be correct, it in itself supplies us with another indication, over and above those we have yet to advance, of Samanta's priestly supremacy.

It may be as well here to notice, that the silver and copper coins bearing the single word "Samanta" over the bull, without any name on the reverse, cannot, under any circumstances, be taken to be the coins of a class of monarchs using one particular form of medal, as distinguished from one individual bearing the appellation; as Samanta's immediate successors inscribe their own names above the figure of Nandí, on the obverse of their own coins.

It is somewhat worthy of remark in this place, and with reference to this particular view of Samanta's greatness, that Ward, in his list of Kings of Hindústán, extracted from the Puránas, notes Sumoodru Palu, as the founder of a Yogí dynasty of paramount monarchs,

numbering sixteen kings; among these sixteen, we find the names of no less than three princes, whose coins we now have to show, bearing the identical Bull and Horseman device of the Kábul Brahmans. Two of these, Bhím and Anunda, correspond in name with two of the successors of Samanta recorded by Albírúní. Moreover, this same list of Ward's, brought down through many Rajas, ends in Prithví Raja, the last Hindú monarch of Delhí, and one who, we have already seen, retained Samanta's name and style of coin. If we accept the evidence of the Purânas in this coincidence, it will be seen that following Ward himself, we must entirely reject their chronology.

That Samanta should, from a motive of individual vanity, have recoined, in his own name, all the money of his predecessors within his reach, is highly probable; indeed, we have an instance of a like act in a country not too far removed to have furnished him an example; as the author of the Raja Tarangini informs us, that Toramana, king of Kashmír, from 415 to 430 A.D. melted down the ancient coin of the country, and struck dinars in his own name.

Samanta's renown as a king, whether he were a conqueror or not, was probably connected with the progress of Brahmanism, in opposition to Búddhism, the former of which is shown by Colonel Sykes to have made such important advances just about this period[1]: at the same time there is evidence sufficient, aided by that afforded by Albírúní, to justify us in supposing that the Túrk kings of Kábul were Búddhists. From religious zeal to advance Brahmanism, it was possibly Samanta's object to remove, as early after the usurpation of the monarchy by his family as he safely could, all traces of Búddhist ascendancy. In the East, where these things are much considered, in no way would a man's ideas turn more readily in an attempt of this nature, than to the destruction of the coins of former kings, and the increase of his own.

Were there nothing intrinsically indicative of a religious motive in the assumption by these Brahman kings of the Nandí type of coin, the entire change in the device of the coinage of a kingdom, concurrent with the accession of a ruling power professing a different creed, would in itself attract attention to the subject, especially when, in addition, we have reason to think that the coins of the Túrk kings, in their die of the elephant, refer to the Búddhist faith. The fact of the entire absence of any single specimen of the silver coinage of the Túrk kings of Kábul is most remarkable; especially as the copper pieces, bearing their elephant and lion device, are plentiful, we cannot with any

[1] Vide Journal Royal Asiatic Society, No. XII., Art. XIV.

reason imagine these kings or their country so poor, as to have been absolutely wanting in a silver currency. The careful suppression of these silent records by a successful adversary, then, is perhaps one of the few ways of accounting for their non-existence. The copper coins being more perishable, may have been allowed to escape; nay more, of so little importance does the copper currency seem to have been considered, that we have instances of Samanta's name appearing on coins of the old die, even after Syala had introduced copper money of the same form and size as his silver currency. The issue of these elephant coins may, indeed, have occurred early in Samanta's reign, before his bigotry gained head, otherwise it militates somewhat against this explanation of the cause of his apparent wealth.

The association of the names of Hindu Deities in several distinct instances, on the coins of Madanpál, Prithví Raja and others, as prefixes to the name of Samanta, testifies in an obvious manner the sacerdotal eminence of this last.

It will be remarked, on a reference to Albírúní, that a notable change takes place in the termination of the names of the sovereigns after the fourth on the list. Syala, Samanta, and Bhím, call themselves déva; Jeipál and the rest are all pála dévas. At the same time, our plate shows a considerable variation in the style of coinage; in the medals of Syala, Samanta, Khedava, and Bhím déva, we have the name over the bull on the obverse, the reverse being occupied by the horseman, accompanied by what, as far as we know, are mere mint marks, and the Arabic word عدل (just), whereas, in the money of Anung pál déva we find the designation placed on the reverse, occupying the place of the mint marks just noticed, the bull on the obverse being superscribed (as has been before mentioned) by the title of Samanta; and this practice is continued by succeeding monarchs of the race. The inscription of the name of a preceding prince on the coins of his successors cannot but point, not only to the celebrity of the former, but to the acknowledged relative inferiority of the latter; hence we naturally inquire, if Khedava and Bhím considered themselves equal to their immediate predecessor, why Anung pál, and most probably Jeipál, admitted their own subordination? We have it, on the authority of Ferishtah, that Jeipál was the son of Hispál; and we learn that he was king of Delhi, and that he extended his dominion to Lahore[1]. This must be taken to mean, that Jeipál conquered the province of Lahore, and as we find him noted as one of the successors of the Kábul dynasty, we might well suppose that he con-

[1] Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Useful Tables.

quered Kábul also; but Abúl Fazl tells us that Aleptegín possessed himself of Kábul as well as Ghazní, and we know from Ferishtah and Mirkhond, that Jeipál's dominions extended westward only to Peshávur and Lughmán; clearly proving that he did not own Kábul. If such be the truth, the only way of accounting for Jeipál's being recorded as a king of the Kábul race, is, to conclude, as Samanta's coins give us reason to do, that the early princes of the line possessed the Punjáb, and that Jeipál, in taking this from them, succeeded to all they then had left, and, with their lands, took the honours of one of their line. It is possible also, if the Brahmans did not possess the Punjáb, that, on their loss of the kingdom of Kábul, leaving, as it did, the owner of the land of the five rivers, the nearest neighbour of the advancing Mohammedans, Jeipál may have put himself forward as the "Fidei Defensor," and, as such, called himself successor to these priestly kings. In identifying the Jeipál of Delhi with Albírúní's king of Kábul, we may very fairly conjecture that, being of the Delhi Tuar line, Jeipál was a Tuar Rájpút and no Brahman. If objection be taken to the sufficiency of the data upon which the identification of the Delhí with the Lahore monarch is founded, there is still much to favour the supposition that Jeipál was a Rájpút; his name as well as the caste of his peculiar subjects admit the probability of his being a Bháttí, or shepherd. This change of caste in a line of Hindú monarchs, would at once explain any acknowledgment of inferiority. There are, however, objections to the too ready admission of this solution of the difficulty, as Ferishtah unquestionably mentions Jeipál as "of the Brahman race:" this, in a Mohammedan author, may merely mean one of a line heretofore of that caste, or as a king identified with Brahmanism by promoting and defending that creed. The same remark, indeed, might be applied to the statement of Albírúní himself, on the subject of the caste of the early Kábul kings, except that the allusion to the Brahman origin of Syala and Samanta is distinct and reiterated; whereas the other sovereigns are only indicated by name as succeeding each in his turn, without any precise reference to the class from whence they sprang.

It is not a little singular, amid the profusion of the medals of other kings of the dynasty, that no single specimen of the produce of Jeipál's mint has as yet been brought to light. It would be unreasonable to infer from this that Jeipál did not coin money; the Eastern feeling on the subject, his long reign, and his rich kingdom, all oppose this deduction. We must conclude, then, that the extensive currency of Samanta sufficed for the general wants of the time, and that Jeipál's frequent employment in war, left him little time to attend

to the arts of peace, and induced him to content himself with a very limited issue of coin.

Touching the extent of the kingdoms possessed by each prince of the line, but little information is accorded to us by Albírúní; he simply alludes to the revolution which placed the first of the race at the head of the kingdom of Kábul, and then satisfies himself with a scanty notice of the rest of the dynasty.

We have already ventured to infer from the record borne by medals, that one of the first kings of this dynasty added the Punjáb to his somewhat limited Kábul state. The dominion of Jeipál is shown by Mohammedan authors to have "extended from Sirhínd to Lamghán, and from Kashmír to Multán." The Hindú annals of the countries themselves bear witness that he was also king of Delhí. Anungpál, in succeeding to these possessions, was not able to retain the full vigour of his sovereignty against the repeated attacks of the Mohammedans. In his reign Jessalmír is noted as tributary, and held under him by a local king. This and many other states, regarding which no distinct information has come down to us, there is reason to believe, must have been attached to the kingdom during Jeipál's time. Indeed, whatever the peculiar dominions of each king may have been, all testimony on the subject demonstrates that Jeipál, Anungpál, and his successor, were recognised as paramount monarchs of Northern India. The readiness with which the troops of the local rajas were collected at their demand, their usually being found at the head of the army when assembled, and the protection they extended to states not in their own immediate possession, all show this supremacy. It would seem never to have been the custom of Indian conquerors to occupy the kingdoms they subdued, they satisfied themselves apparently with exacting submission, demanding as a proof of such, either a nominal tribute or an obligation of service. Nardadjanpál (known among the Mussulmáns as Jeipál II.), finally lost Lahore, which from this period became an appanage of the Ghaznevides. In the absence of any other evidence, we must conjecture that Bhímpál succeeded to the territories his father was able to save from Mohammedan conquest.

While on the subject of the coins of the kings of Kábul, it may be proper that we should briefly advert to several medals displaying more or less relation to the original type, but inscribed, at the same time, with Cufic letters. No. 19 of our plate is a coin evidently imitated from Syala's money, bearing on the one side the bull, but little altered, with the exception of the removal of the sign of the trident of Siva from the animal's haunch to a more prominent position

on the field of the coin; the space usually occupied by the name of Syala, is here supplied by that of the Khalif, المقتدر بالله Al Muktadir billah; on the space above the bull is also to be seen a monogram, apparently one of the Sanskrit double letters, वग, found on some types of the money of Syala, reversed; this mark, in itself, identifies the coin most intimately with those we suppose it to be derived from: the reverse exhibits the horseman, somewhat altered from the original, in the absence of the spear, and the nearer approximation of the head-dress to the form used by the Imáms; the whole is superscribed جعفر لله "Lillah Jafer," Jafer being supposed to be the real name of the Khalif himself, or that of his Vizir, to either of whom, it correctly belongs. This coin is conjectured by M. A. de Longperier to have been issued by some quondam Hindú prince newly converted to Mohammedanism, who must have been in a measure connected with the state of Kábul. There are several casts of similar coins in the British Museum, and one original in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris. That there was much intercourse and some unexplained connexion between the Hindús and Mohammedans in the days of Syala, there is further evidence in his coins themselves: for the curious monogram)+ in front of the horse on his medals and those of his successors, is discovered from a clear cut die of a coin of Khedava, to be a strange perversion of the Arabic word عدل. As the Mohammedan specimen errs in its reversal of a Hindí letter, and would seem to indicate itself the work of a die-cutter versant in Cufic, but ignorant of Sanskrit; so, the coins of Syala, both in this instance and those about to be noticed, prove their artist a master of Sanskrit, though wofully uninstructed in Arabic. On other of Syala's coins (especially on three presented to the British Museum by Colonel Lafont), are to be found what, at present, in the imperfect state of the medals themselves, appears to be a somewhat lengthened Persian inscription, in front of the horseman. These coins are here alluded to, in the hope of drawing the attention of possessors of better specimens to the subject, with a view to its full elucidation. In order to embrace a reference to all medals having any bearing on this question, we may note the publication of four coins in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vide Plate XLIX., Vol. IV., Figures 27, 28; and Plate XI., Vol. II., Figures 14 and 17. The Sanskrit inscription on these has not been satisfactorily decyphered. The Persian reads clearly ناصر الدنيا والدين Násir-

ed-dín, it is to be observed, was the title of Subuktagín, a title adopted by no succeeding Indian potentate till 1210 A.D.

In the series of kings using the bull and horseman currency we have a break extending from Bhímpál to Prithví Raja, a period of nearly a century and a half. Into this extensive gap we are at present able to introduce, with historical certainty, only one king, Madanpál. (Fig. 15.) The name of Sallakshanpál (vide Figs. 11 and 12), claims insertion in our list, but the local annals extant do not enable us to fix its due position. The make of the coins, and the form of character with which they are inscribed, suffice to point to an early reign; as such, we have placed this king before Madanpál. We have, also, the coins of three princes (Nos. 16, 17, and 18 of our plate[1],) who will probably be found to have reigned during this interval; however, the paucity of specimens, and the abrasion of the letters on the margin of these medals, do not permit us to suggest the full titles they once bore. The name of Mahapál is distinct on the small piece, Fig. 15, and the device seems to bear some affinity to the Kábul type. This will probably be found to be a coin of Mahipál, otherwise Bhúpál, king of Benares and Gáur, A.D. 1027. We must not omit, in this casual mention of the coins of Madanpál and Prithví Raja, to allude to the titles of Mádhava and Asáwurí, to be discovered on each respectively. Mádhava is one of the many names of Krishna, and its adoption on the money of a king of Kanoúj, for as such we identify Madanpál, is appropriate, inasmuch as the classic land of Mathura, the birth-place of this divinity, was in all probability a fief of Kanoúj. The Asáwurí, another title of Dúrgá, may evidence a separate dynasty and a race of kings of a different Rájpút family, who may have adopted for their local goddess, the mountain-born Parvuti.

The unassigned coin of पोमे** देव[2] (Fig.16), displays the Asáwurí, and hence may teach us to look for the identification of its master

[1] See also Figs. 21 and 28, Plate XIX., Ariana Antiqua.

[2] Were it not venturing beyond what the strict reading of the inscription on this coin altogether permits, it might well be attributed to Sóméswar, the Chohán King of Ajmír, the fourth in descent from the great Visala dev.

In the transition state of the Devanagari alphabet at this period, the initial letter of the name, which undoubtedly (referring to the modern forms) looks more like a प *p* than any other consonant, may possibly have been used to represent an *s* स, and what appears of the remainder of the word tallies well with सोमेस्वर देव "Someswar dev." Vide Tod, Vol. I. p. 225; and Vol. II. p. 451.

among the families of the Chohans, or the Tuars, to whose throne they succeeded.

That the whole country of Hindústán was, during the century and a half above adverted to, in a state of extreme anarchy, incident upon the frequent inroads of the Ghaznevides, there can be little doubt; that there was a great subdivision of monarchies and consequent general insignificance of their rulers, we have evidence enough to show, did we not find proof of it in hearing of the combination of no less than one hundred and fifty kings to oppose the invasion of Mohammed bin Sám

It is difficult, among so many sovereignties, to know where to turn to seek the owners of our coins, or to conjecture in what line, and by what process of descent, the right to strike these medals was continued from monarch to monarch, till we find it fixed in Prithví Raja. It is possible that the mere possession of the capital, in itself constituted its lord a nominal Maharaja, and that with the capital also went the die, which had long been in use for the currency of the dependent countries. That this particular species of coin was regarded as the fixed currency of the dominions of the successors of the Kábul kings, is sufficiently proved by its acceptation, in part, by Ibrahím; its being found in use by Prithví Raja; and its recognition and retention by Mohammed bin Sám, and his successors on the throne of Delhí. At the same time, it is not unlikely, as the prestige attaching to the lordship of the old seat of government gradually became weaker, as its princes became less powerful, that this coinage, in continuing to be recognised among the Hindús as a type of their faith, was adopted at will by any of the numerous rajas of that belief, who, for the time being, attained ascendancy sufficient to entitle them, in any way, to assume the leadership of their brethren in their opposition to the advance of Mohammedan conquest.

It has been mentioned above, that the Mohammedan princes of Ghazní and Ghor imitated, in part, the coinage of the Kábul kings: some notice of these currencies may not, therefore, be out of place in our present inquiry. The copper money of the later Mussulmán kings of Ghazní has one of its surfaces ornamented with the bull Nándi, above which is inscribed, as in his own coins, the name of Samanta; the other surface bears the name and titles of the Mohammedan prince in Cufic characters. The first Ghaznevide of whom we have money of this description, is Ibrahím (A.D. 1058), Plate, fig. 20, and its use seems to have been continued until the close of the reign of Khusrú Shah (1160). The adoption of a symbol so purely Hindú, superscribed by the name of a Hindú king, by a sect so bigoted in these matters as

the followers of Mohammed, is singular, but may be accounted for, either by the supposition that the Ghazní sultans, in virtue of their conquest of a part of the territories of Samanta's successors, assumed a reverse for their coins indicative of such success; or, more probably still, this device may have been borrowed by the Ghaznevides from motives of policy, originating in a desire to conciliate the feelings of their new subjects, in continuing a symbol connected with the Hindú faith, to the rejection of the invocation of Islamism, up to this time used, in its place, on their own coins. It is to be observed, that this change was not made till the sultans began to trust themselves among their Indian subjects, by taking up their residence at Lahore. The last of the race of the Ghaznevides, Khusrú Malik, discontinued the use of the bull reverse, and issued money having Cufic inscriptions on both sides.

The house of Ghor appear to have assumed one of the symbols of the Kábul money, after they had won Ghazní in 1171: instead, however, of following their fellow-Mohammedans in affecting the bull, they adopted the opposite surface, and issued a copper currency, decorated, on one side, with the horseman, accompanied by the words Sri Hamíra, श्री हमीर, inscribed, on the reverse, with their own titles. The device thus adopted was continued, on the one hand, through the Delhí successors of Mohammed bin Sám up to the time of Násir-ed-dín Mahmúd (A.D. 1266), and on the other, having been employed severally by Mahmúd (Plate, fig. 22), the son and Afghán successor of Ghíáth-ed-dín Mohammed bin Sám, and Táj-ed-dín, the slave king of Ghazní, it fell with this last territory into the hands of its Kharizm conquerors, by whom it was retained in a slightly altered form (Plate, fig. 23) till the fall of their family in 1231. This style of coin was also employed by another slave of the house of Ghor, Kubácha of Sindh, whose money may be referred to in fig. 19, Plate XX., of Ariana Antiqua.

In addition to adopting the reverse just noticed, Mohammed bin Sám, on his conquest of Delhí, continued the use of the Bull and Horseman coin of Prithví Raja, in the full purity of its original device, varying only the inscriptions, the "Sri Samanta dev" being replaced by his own titles, and the place of the Hindú king's name over the horseman being supplied by the "Sri Hamíra" already inscribed on the Ghazní medals. Specimens of this money are extant, carrying the Delhí Mohammedan succession down as far as Alá-ed-dín Masáud, A.D. 1246.

A remark occurs to us, relating to this, the latest specimen of the

Kábul imitations, which may, with propriety, be introduced in this place. It is singular that the word Hamíra, so long supposed to be a proper name, and so eagerly sought for in the annals of the Hindú kings of India, proves to be a title which must even have borne reproach to the ears of the votaries of that faith, being simply an abbreviation of the full title of the Khalif of Baghdad,—"Amír ul Muminín," continued by the Mohammedans in this curtailed form, from the Arabic reverses of their own Ghazní money, when they adopted the style of coin found current in the countries they had subdued. This reading of the meaning of this much-disputed word, is well upheld by the fact, that the earliest instance of its use is on the reverse of the first occupying Mohammedan conqueror of Delhí; as well as by its retention unaltered by his successors, so long as they continued to employ this form of coin: the abbreviation of the full titles of the Khalif into Srí Hamíra will be seen to have been necessary, as the space occupied by the device did not admit of the introduction of many more Hindí letters, of the size it was the custom to employ.

We append, in a tabular form, for facility of reference, a list of the kings of the Kábul dynasty, giving the names in Arabic, as found in Albírúní; and in Hindí, as found on the coins themselves; where possible, adding the dates, and the probable kingdoms ruled over by each.

SINCE writing the above, we have had an opportunity of examining the Arabic copy of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, as well as a valuable Persian MS. of the same work in the British Museum[1], the texts of which give us some reason to question the accuracy of the Paris MS. of Albírúní, in as far as regards the passage quoted at the commencement of this article. It is not by any means proposed to impugn the general correctness either of the Arabic version or M. Reinaud's translation, at the same time we cannot be too cautious in receiving as fact, a relation bearing upon a period, the history of which has hitherto been completely obscure, and regarding which we now for the first time obtain any written evidence; keeping in view also that this testimony (with the exception of the collateral support to be derived from coins) stands alone, it is requisite, should there be any doubt of its exactitude, to submit it to the most rigorous tests within our reach. The first in order, and perhaps the only one available on this occasion, is that which may be said to be contained within itself, the due correspondence of different copies. Unfortunately no second transcript of Albírúní is available, whereby to check the errors of the MS. whence M. Reinaud derives his text; we are therefore necessitated to apply to a separate compilation, which however displays so much of the letter and spirit of the original, that its version may readily be accepted in correcting a doubtful passage even in a copy of that original itself; it is to be borne in mind that the absence of a record of any given fact in the work of Rashíd-ed-dín does not in any way shake the veracity of the author whom he quotes; it is only in cases of actual discrepancy that there is reason to question the accuracy of the sole existing transcript of Taríkh-i-Hind of Albírúní.

It may be necessary briefly to allude to the connexion existing between these two works, and to mention that Rashíd-ed-dín, the author of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh, acknowledges to have derived all the materials for the composition of that part of his history which relates to India, from the Arabic version of Albírúní's Taríkh-i-Hind. The former production was composed in Persian about the year 1310 A.D., and almost simultaneously translated into Arabic, one

[1] This MS. (No. 7628, Addit.) is also a very ancient and seemingly trustworthy copy. It is said to have been once the property of the great Oljáitú Khán himself, under whose auspices part of the work was written. Be this as it may, there seems good reason to believe that it was once owned by Shah Rokh, the son of Tímúr. The MS. is the work of different hands, and badly written at the part quoted below.

of the earliest copies in which language we are now in a position to cite as our authority[1].

It is true that, under ordinary circumstances, a transcript of an original work ought to be considered a better authority than a compilation formed from extracts of the same; but, in the present instance, we find that, although Rashíd-ed-dín left unnoticed much that was to be found in Albírúní, yet in the case of the extract to which we refer, as in many others, he transferred whole passages in all their original integrity, though, of course, not always in the identical words, in which they were found in the Taríkh-i-Hind.

Hence the question, as to the confidence due severally to the London and Paris Arabic MSS., resolves itself into whether, allowing even for re-translation, an extract collated under the eye of an eminent scholar and admirable linguist like the author of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh, the actual document of which we are able to refer to, and which was engrossed so long ago as 1314 A.D. supported as it is by unexceptionable parallel passages in a second language, be not preferable to a modern copy of an original, which, for all we know, may have passed through the hands of an endless series of mere mechanical transcribers.

The Asiatic Society's Arabic MS. is written in so careful a manner and so clear a hand, that it is next to impossible to err in the mere perusal; and with reference to the subjoined extract, the exactness of its text is strongly corroborated by a counterpart account to be found in the British Museum Persian copy, and in several MSS. of the Taríkh-i-Binákití, an abridgment of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh, undertaken during the lifetime of the author of this last; thus in point of date being nearly equal to its original, and possessing an advantage in the present case over any actual copy of the work from which it was compiled, inasmuch as, issuing from the same source, its information is brought down to us through another and independent channel.

We now transcribe our Arabic version, adding its translation, as well as the Persian extracts from the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh and the Taríkh-i-Binákití, merely pausing to notice that "Kuttaur" is mentioned by Elphinstone as the name of one of the tribes of Kafirs of the Hindu Kúsh[2], and that Burnes informs us that the chief of Chitral to this day bears the title of "Shah Kutore," and boasts of his Macedonian lineage[3].

[1] For full accounts of this manuscript, vide Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. XI., p. 20.

[2] Elphinstone's Cabul, Vol. II., p. 376.

[3] Burnes's Bokhara, Vol. II., p. 209, 8vo. edit.

و رجع كنك الي ولايته و هو آخر ملوك كتورمان[1] كان و ساعده الزمان و ارفده البخت و وقف علي اكثر دفاين الملوك المتقدمين فقوی بها و استظهر بتلك الاموال و الذخاير حتي اغتر بها و نسي الواجب و ركب قبيحة من القبايح فشكت الخلايق الي الوزير من سوء فعله و حبسه للتابت[1] ثم استولي علي الملك مرة ثانية و بعد وفاته ملك عليهم من البراهمة سامند و من بعد سامند كملو و بعده بهيم * * * * *[2]

"And Kank returned to his country, and he was the last of the Kutaurman kings, and it happened that the times were prosperous for him, and fortune exalted him; and he lighted upon many of the treasures of former kings, and grew strong in consequence; and he shone with these sources of wealth and treasure until he grew proud, and forgot his duty, and committed some great wickedness, and the people turned from him in complaint towards his vizir because of his wicked deeds, and confined him for correction. Then he acquired dominion again, and after his death there reigned over them of Brahmans, Samund, and after Samund, Kumloo, and after him Bhím," &c.[3]

Corresponding Persian passage from Jámi-al-Tawáríkh in the British Museum.

و كنك باولايت خود معاودت كرد و اخرين بادشاهان كتورمان بود زمانه چنان اورا مساعدت و مرافقت نمود كه همه دفاين مقند ايان[4] بيافت و بران متظهر و مغرور شد ناگاه

[1] Sic in orig.
[2] Jámi-al-Tawáríkh, Part III., Sec. 5, Royal Asiatic Society.
[3] This translation is from the pen of Mr. H. T. Prinsep.
[4] مقتد ايان

ارتکاب قبیحة نمود قملة[1] خلائق سکایت او بوزیر می کردند وزیر
اورا جهة تادیب بگرفت و حبس کرد و دیگربار برملک مستولي
شد و بعد از وفات او از برای همه[2] سامند بادشاه شد و بعد از و
کملوا و بعد از و بیهم * * *

"And Kank returned to his own country, and was the last of the Kutaurman kings. Fortune so favoured him, that he found many treasures of (former) chiefs, and in consequence he became proud and exalted; at length he gave way to disgraceful conduct, on which account the people complained of him to his vizir. The vizir took him into custody for the purpose of correction, and confined him. And a second time he became ruler over the kingdom. After his death Samund, from among the Brahmans, became king, and after him Kumlowa, and after him Bhím," &c.

The Persian sentence, corresponding with the commencement of the above, from two copies of the Táríkh-i-Binákití, reads thus:—

و بعد از و کنک و او اخرین بادشاهان کتورمان بود[3]

"and after him [came] Kank, and he was the last of the Kutaurman kings."

A similar extract, from another less perfect copy, runs

و بعد از و کنک و او اوآخرین[4] بادشاه کتورمان بود و بعد
از و از براهمه سامند بادشاه شد * * * *[5]

The information acquired by this variation from the reading of the Paris MS., (supposing it to be correct), does not in any material degree affect the positions assumed in the above paper on the Coins of the Kings of Kábul.

It now appears that there was a direct usurpation of the sovereignty of Kank by his vizir, and that no other monarch of Kank's

[1] قبلة [2] از براهمه

[3] No. 119, Royal Asiatic Society, and a copy of Sir G. Ouseley's.

[4] Sic in orig.

[5] Taríkh-i-Binákití. Brit. Museum: Rich Coll., No. 7627.

race filled the throne of Kábul after his death. The non-introduction of Syala's name in our MSS. but little affects his identification as that vizir: his coins, in their make and execution, indicate their own position as preceding those of Samanta, as well as the Brahman origin of him whose name they bear. The re-accession of the last of the Túrk kings explains to us, in a measure, how Samanta came to be looked upon as a founder of a dynasty, without at all detracting from the celebrity, either religious or temporal, heretofore attributed to him.

The very legible penmanship of the Arabic MS. of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh supplies us with another version of the name of the second Jeipál; he is there called تدو جيپال Tudau Jeipál. The Persian Jámi-al-Tawáríkh has نندوا جيپال Nundowa Jeipál.

In bringing these observations to a close, we may add, that we have not failed to consult the Persian copy of the Jámi-al-Tawáríkh in the Library of the East India House, but this MS., among its other imperfections, has unfortunately a lacuna just at the exact point in the history of Kank's reign where it might otherwise have served to elucidate the present inquiry.

[Since the printing of the preceding sheet a coin has been found at the East India House, which confirms the conjectural reading of "Someswara," suggested by the writer in Note 2, p. 188.—Ed.

LIST OF THE KINGS OF THE HINDU DYNASTY OF KABUL AND LAHORE.

The Arabic names from Albírúní; the Sanskrit ones from Coins.

No.	Name.	Name in Arabic.	Name in Sanskrit.	Date of Accession A.D.	Recorded Kingdoms, and Authorities.			
					Kábul.	Lahore.	Delhí.	Other States.
1	Syala	كلر ?	श्री स्पलपति देव	920	Albírúní			
2	Samanta	سامند	श्री समन्त देव	935	Do.			
3	Khvadava	كملوا	श्री खुदवयकः	. .	Do.			
4	Bhím	بهيم	श्री भीम देव	. .	Do.			
5	Jeipál	جيپال	. .	975	. .	Ferishtah	Prinsep U.T. Abúlfazl ?	
6	Anungpál	اندپال	श्री अवार्ग	1000	. .	Do.	Do. Do.	Jessulmír (tributary)
7	——? Jeipál	نردجنپال	. .	1021	. .	Lahore annexed to Guzní, 1023 A.D.		
8	Bhímpál	بهيمپال	. .	1026				
	Madanpál *	. .	श्री मदनपाल देव	1070	. .	. .	. .	Kanoúj
	Prithví Raja	. .	श्री पृथ्वीराज देव	1176	. .	. .	Ferishtah Tod	Ajmír †

* Mentioned as king of Kanoúj, and contemporary with Rajapal of Benares. This last came to the throne in 1070. Madanpál is also recorded in inscriptions as king of Kanóuj in 1096 A.D. Vide Bird's Guzrat, and Useful Tables. † Ferishtah, Tod.

Contents of the Plate.

Note. The weights of the silver coins of the Kábul kings, Nos. 2 to 8 inclusive, average in the specimens engraved, forty-eight grains. The mixed silver and copper coins of the Lahore princes and their successors, Nos. 9 to 18, range as high as fifty-two grains. The best specimen of the copper money of Vanka dev, No. 1, only reaches forty-three grains.

Nos.	Coins of
1.	Vanka dev श्री वक्क देव
2.	Syala श्री स्यलपति देव
3. 4.	Samanta श्री समन्त देव
5. 6. 7.	Khvadava श्री खुदवयक:
8.	Bhím श्री भीम देव
9. 10.	Anungpál, *Obv.* श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* श्री अनंग******
11. 12.	Sallakshanpál, *Obv.* श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* श्री सल्लक्षणपाल देव
13.	Madánpál, *Obv.* (मधव) श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* श्री मदनपाल देव
14.	Prithví Rája, *Obv.* असावरी श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* श्री पृथ्वीराज देव
15.	Mahapál श्री महपाल देवः
16.	*Obv.* श्री पोमे** देव (*Rev.* असावरी श्री समन्त देव).
17. 18.	*Obv.* श्री कीर्ति** देव, *Rev.* **पाल श्री समन्त देव.
19.	Al Muktadir billah, *Obv.* المقتدر بالله, *Rev.* جعفر لله.
20.	Ibrahím of Guzní, *Obv.* श्री समन्त देव, *Rev.* السلطان المعظم ابوالمظفر ابرهيم.
21.	Mohammed bin Sám, *Obv.* श्री महमद साम, *Rev.* श्री हमीरः.
22.	Mahmúd bin Mohammed[1] السلطان الاعظم محمود بن محمد بن سام
23.	Alá-ed-dín Mohammed of Khárizm, *Obv.* السلطان الاعظم علاالدنيا والدين.
24.	Fac-simile copy of the Arabic word عدل from a coin of Khvadava.

[1] It has been considered unnecessary to introduce a coin of Mohammed bin Sám of this type, as the piece here given resembles his coins, from whence it is derived, in every respect except the name it bears.

Art. VII.—*On a Catalogue of Chinese Buddhistical Works.* *By* Colonel Sykes, F.R.S.

[*Read 20th June*, 1846.]

A few prefatory words are necessary in laying before the Society a curious Catalogue of works in the libraries in China upon Buddha and his doctrines, many of them entirely, or chiefly, in Pali, but expressed in Chinese characters; and the rest partly in Pali, but chiefly in Chinese; or wholly in Chinese. I am indebted to the kindness of the present Governor of Hong Kong, Sir J. Davis, through the agency of my friend, Sir Henry Willock, for notices of works, which, if made available to Chinese and Pali scholars in Europe, may possibly expand the glimmerings we at present have of the ancient history of India, and the religious belief of its inhabitants, into a noontide blaze of light. My motives and objects in addressing myself to Sir John Davis, were founded upon the following considerations. It has long been known to the lettered world that sculptured remains in rock-cut temples, with figures and ornaments, of a people differing from the present inhabitants of India, were to be met with in various parts of India, but chiefly in the Deccan, and in the territories of the Bombay Presidency; but so completely was the origin, history, and status of this people lost, that from a peculiarity in the supposed head-dress on the chief figures in the temples, and from the dress and ornaments of some of the attendants, opinions were recorded in print, that the people must have been from Abyssinia or some other part of Africa, or at least were foreign to India; and these opinions may have received support from the fact of the sculptures being associated with inscriptions cut in the rock, or upon pillars, in a character utterly unintelligible to learned Brahmans, and to learned Europeans who were Orientalists.

Little had occurred to disturb these opinions until a comparatively recent date; for even so late as 1800, Dr. Buchanan entertained them. I spent a week at Ellora, in 1818, in drawing and describing the rock-cut temples there, and if my present impressions be correct, I was the first to point out the religious distinctions manifest in the Ellora excavations, and to allot to the Buddhists and the votaries of Siva, the temples which each had respectively excavated. My drawings and description were published in the third volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of

Bombay[1]. After my visit to Ellora the subject of Indian Buddhism was taken up in an able and elaborate paper by Mr. Erskine of Bombay, which appeared in the same volume with my account of Ellora. Attention was now called to a new field of inquiry, and ere long remarkable facts were elicited by those distinguished Orientalists, H. H. Wilson, J. Prinsep, and Hodgson. A new impetus was given to the inquiry by the genius, sagacity, and perseverance of Prinsep, which enabled him to trace the letters of the unintelligible inscriptions, downwards, through Sanskrit inscriptions of successive periods of time, marking the change each letter underwent as it appeared in successive inscriptions, until at last the ancient and unintelligible alphabet resolved itself into the modern Devanagari. Being possessed of the powers of the letters, he was enabled to read the inscriptions, but found to his surprise that the language was not Sanskrit but Pali, and that the whole of the hitherto undecipherable inscriptions, without a single exception, related to Buddhism; comprising either decrees of an emperor in India, who reigned some centuries before Christ, or Buddhist apophthegms, dogmas, or records of events. During the period of those successful labours of Prinsep, there appeared the Mahawanso, or Buddhist Annals, from Ceylon records, &c., translated by the Hon. Mr. Turnour. Here was a solution of the difficulty which had presented itself in accounting for the prodigious amount of Buddhist remains in India, which, attention having now been called to them, were found to extend from Cuttack in the east to Girnar in Gujarat in the west, and from Ceylon to Affghanistan. The Mahawanso referred the origin of Buddhism to India, and literally peopled it with swarms of religious fraternities. But these accumulating proofs were crowned by the publication of a singular work, from a Chinese manuscript, designated Foe Koue Ki, or the travels of Fa Hian, a Chinese Buddhist priest, in India, from the year of Christ 499 to 514. The translation of this volume was the joint work of Klaproth, Remusat, and Landresse. Buddhism having been introduced into China from India, the object of this priest, and of many others who followed him, was to examine into the

[1] Sir Charles Malet, who had previously written on the wonders of Ellora, expresses himself vaguely about there being traces of the Jains, but in his description of the caves, he never once attributes any one of them to either Jains or Buddhists. Joinville, in his account of the Buddhism of Ceylon refers its origin to India; and Salt, in his description of the caves of Salsette, had distinguished the excavations of the Buddhists from those of the Sivaists. It might have been expected, therefore, that the true character of the caves at Ellora would have been given before 1818.

state of Buddhism in its original seat; and to copy and carry with them into China the religious works in use by the Buddhists of India. At the period of Fa Hian's visit, Buddhism, in the eleventh century from the death of the last Buddha (Sakya), was so flourishing, that we may safely infer the majority of the inhabitants of India professed it. Even two centuries later, when Hiuan Thsang, another Buddhist priest, travelled in India for the same purpose as Fa Hian, he did not find a single sovereign of the numerous reigning princes who was not a Buddhist, although Buddhism itself had become in places so corrupted, that its followers, Hiuan Thsang says, were little better than the heretics, meaning the followers of Brahmanism, which must have been fast culminating. In addition to the above, the Asiatic Journal of Paris gives numerous instances from Chinese sources of an intercourse, political, commercial, and religious, between China and India. Buddhism, it is probable, did not finally disappear from India before the eleventh century, as there is a Buddhist inscription of that date in Bengal, and Edrisi speaks of a Buddhist king at Narwala, the capital of Gujarat, in the same century.

I have given this hasty and imperfect sketch in explanation of my reasons for applying to China for a catalogue of Buddhist Pali works, thinking it very probable, that as many Chinese Buddhist priests at different periods had travelled to India, and resided there for many years, for the express purpose of copying the religious books in use amongst the Buddhists of India, they would necessarily learn the language of these books, and copy the characters used to express that language; that on arriving in China the priests would multiply copies of these books; that copies would be handed down to present times, and that they would be met with at this day in the libraries of China, in the Lath character and in the Pali language. In this expectation I have been partly disappointed; very many works, indeed, have been met with in the Pali language, but the whole of them are written in Chinese characters. Mr. Gutzlaff, the celebrated Chinese scholar, says, he has not met with a single instance of a book written in either the ancient or modern Pali character.

The following are the words of a letter of Mr. Gutzlaff to Sir John Davis, dated 13th November, 1845:—

"Dear Sir,

"In the largest libraries of the Temples, I have never seen a single book in Pali character, nor even a trace, but a few inscriptions in that language, unintelligible to the priests themselves.

"Siam, on the contrary, is rich in these productions, though written

in a peculiar character unknown in India, and the King has an extensive beautiful collection. The higher order of priests understand somewhat the idiom, and the presumptive heir to the crown is fully conversant with the language.

"Though not in the Pali character, the Colonel may collect from the list their leading doctrines which have reached China, and how far Buddhism is taught in the Monasteries.

"I have the honour, &c.,
(Signed) "C. GUTZLAFF."

In transmitting this note, together with Mr. Gutzlaff's catalogue, Sir John Davis writes a letter to Sir Henry Willock, dated Government House, Victoria, 24th December, 1845, from which the following is an extract:—

"In compliance with the request of Colonel Sykes I applied to Mr. Gutzlaff about the works in Pali; but it seems that none in the original language have ever been met with, (indeed, I should think them as irrecoverable as the lost Decades of Livy,) and the mere expression of the sounds in Chinese, is as unintelligible to the votaries as the Latin Paternoster to a Romish kitchen-maid. I enclose a note from Gutzlaff, my Chinese secretary."

In this extract, Sir John evidently means original *character* not original *language*, for Mr. Gutzlaff gives a long list of works in Pali, the expression of the sounds being in Chinese characters. But I will venture to hope where Sir John would not let me hope, for Mr. Gutzlaff admits having seen some inscriptions in the Pali character unintelligible to the Chinese. It is plain, therefore, the character reached China, and must have been in use. The inscriptions, probably, contain religious dogmas or apophthegms, as in India, and the original works from which they were extracted may yet exist uncared-for as unintelligible, or most probably forgotten. The inscriptions would be of interest to the Society, and I have written to beg they may be copied and sent to it. Although disappointed in the chief object of my application to Sir John Davis, the Catalogue transmitted contains much matter for curious and instructive reflection. The very titles of the books show us the current of the thoughts, the faith, and moral views of the votaries of Buddha, and many of them, could they be met with in Europe and translated, would remove the veil of ignorance which still exists with regard to the ancient history, and the genuine ancient religious tenets of Buddhism; for certainly but little is known of the

progress of the religion, and but imperfect ideas of its early exoteric and esoteric doctrines. When we find so distinguished a scholar as Burnouf basing his views of its history and dogmas upon the corrupted and half-Brahmanical Buddhism of Nipal, described only in Sanskrit and not Pali books, there is plainly much wanting to complete its history; and when we find also Mr. Schott, in reading a paper before the Berlin Academy at so late a period as the 1st February, 1844, never once alluding to the discourses of Buddha, translated from the Pali by Turnour, although he quotes many other authorities, we have a right to infer that Pali and Chinese scholars are yet capable of greatly extending their information on the subject of Buddhism.

I have already alluded to the mere titles of some of the books in the catalogue affording a limited insight into the doctrines and ethics of the Buddhists. The catalogue itself is suited rather for the Oriental inquirer in his closet, than for submission to a scientific meeting with elaborate oral comments; I shall confine myself, therefore, to a few general observations. The catalogue comprises five distinct portions: 1st. Works exclusively in Pali, with the expression of the sound in Chinese characters: this portion contains 27 works. 2nd. Works almost entirely in Pali: this portion comprises 6 works. 3rd. Books if not entirely, still the greater part in Chinese: this portion contains 99 works. 4th. Works denominated "religious;" why so distinguished does not appear: these are 14 in number. And, 5th, Ethics: of these there are 10. The catalogue therefore contains 156 works: nothing is said of their bulk or extent, but Mr. Gutzlaff mentions that they are the choice of the Buddhistical Library, and contain the whole body of doctrines and ethics that were brought to China. The first practical use to which the catalogue would appear to be applicable is, by its publication, to afford the scholars of Europe an opportunity of ascertaining whether copies exist of any of the works in the great libraries; and if so, having secured the stamp of Mr. Gutzlaff's authority as standard works, that efforts might be made for their translation. In case they are not to be met with, selections from the catalogue might be made, with a view to the works being obtained from China for translation. The next use to be made of the catalogue is to apply the titles of the books to assist speculations and deductions in the history, religious dogmas, ritual, and ethics of the remarkable people amongst whom they originated, or of those people amongst whom they are found: for instance, No. 9, of the first section, is a "Treatise upon Eternal Life," and No. 56 of the third section, is a "Treatise upon Everlasting Happiness;" but the Buddhists are repre-

sented, from our imperfect information respecting them, as believing in Nibano (nirvana), annihilation: both beliefs, therefore, can scarcely be compatible, eternal life and annihilation; some explanation of these incompatibilities might probably be found in the work, No. 51 of the third section, a "Treatise on the Origin of Things," or from No. 91 of the second section, denominated "Doctrine of Non-entity" (of the void). But further doubts are raised in regard to the declared atheism of the Buddhists by the title of the book, No. 3 of the fifth section, denominated "A System of Reward and Punishment," illustrated by numerous examples. Now this implies the existence of a Being not only with the power to reward and punish, but with the discrimination necessary to allot justly either the one or the other. The necessity for repentance to insure rewards or freedom from punishment, is indicated in the works 16 and 17 of the first series: the first called a "Treatise on Repentance and Contrition," partly in Pali and partly in Chinese, and the latter denominated "Doctrine of Universal Repentance:" the greater part in Pali; and No. 78 of the third series, is a "Treatise on Retributive Justice."

How can those people be properly charged with atheism who believe in the efficacy of repentance, and the doctrines of rewards and punishments? There possibly may be some strange fusion of opposite and conflicting ideas, which we could only comprehend by having the entire works laid before us, such as No. 51 of the third section, "On the Origin of Things." But whatever may have been, or may be the esoteric doctrines of the Buddhists, the present catalogue contains ample proofs of the earnest inculcation of the practice of virtue and truth amongst its followers. No. 28 of the third section, is a "Dissertation upon Truth." No 50 is designated, "The high aim of Virtue." No. 64 and 65 "Leading Principles of Purity," and a "Dissertation on the Doctrines of Purity." No. 81 is the "Whole Duty of Man, an Excellent Treatise on Ethics." Nos. 94 and 95 the "Three-fold Road to Purity," and the "Highest State of Perfection." No. 2 of the fifth section, is a "Discourse on Virtue." No. 6 "Domestic Jewels, Excellent Precepts, Doctrines, Exhortations, Examples, &c. to render People Happy." And No. 8, a "Treatise on the Rewards of Virtue:" there appears, consequently, ample instruction for man in his moral relations.

The catalogue, as might be expected, abounds with works on the doctrines of Buddhism. No. 4 of the first series, is called the "Adamantine Classic, in Large Characters, a Treatise upon the Abiding and Unalterable Principles of Shamanism." No. 26 is a "Compendium of the Doctrines of Buddhism." No. 7 of the third series, is called

"General Principles of Buddhism." No. 10 of the same series, is a "Full Commentary upon the Doctrines of Buddhism." No. 20 gives the "True Meaning of the Dogmatical Part of Buddhism." And 21, is a "Plain Exposition of Buddhism." No. 37 explains the "First Principles of Shamanism." And No. 71 contains "Important Maxims of Shamanism." Here is a choice, which would leave little more to be desired, even were one of them to be translated. Two of the works in the catalogue are of high importance in an historical point of view. No. 5 of the third series, is designated the "Annals of Buddhism;" and No. 22 of the same series, gives the "Progress of Buddhism." Evidently, therefore, these two works would throw much light on the early state of Buddhism in India, and would prove useful tests for the authenticity and value of the Mahawanso and Dipawanso of the Buddhists of Ceylon.

The interest of the catalogue does not terminate here, for it manifests that the corruptions against which Bodisatwas in India wrote, obtained in China. No. 6 of the first series contains, "The Life and Actions of the Goddess Kwanyin." No. 7 of the same series contains, "Vows and Aspirations addressed to the Idols[1];" and No. 15 contains, "Legends about Kwanyin, the Goddess of Mercy;" entirely in Pali: and No. 24 of the third series, is a "Dissertation upon Idols;" this is mostly in Pali. No. 76 contains, the "Most Important Points about the Water Lily." No. 2 of the fourth section contains, "Addresses to Idols; Forms of Prayers; MASSES FOR SOULS IN PURGATORY, &c." These masses for souls in purgatory is an additional feature in the resemblance which previously existed between the monastic institutions of the Buddhists and those of the Roman Catholics. No. 4 of the fourth series, contains a collection of vagaries respecting Buddha and Kwanyin; and No. 14 contains, "Pious Ejaculations to the North Star." These works bear strong testimony to the corruptions and superstition which has crept into the Buddhism of the Chinese, all which is confirmed by the report of modern travellers. One of the works in this catalogue has an imposing title; it is No. 43 of the third series, and is designated a "Treatise on the Sublime." Now, whether this is a worthy rival of that of Longinus we must leave to time and our Chinese translators to determine. Another work of some interest in the catalogue is No. 9 of the fourth series, designated "Various Legends and Stories about Laotsze," as it would clear up our doubts about those very puzzling personages, the

[1] There were not any idols until a century after the death of Buddha; when a wooden statue of him was set up in a temple; being evidently a pious corruption.

Laotsze, mentioned by Fa Hian in his travels in India. It is known that the Buddhist priests are compelled to beg their daily food, and to travel during a portion of the year; and No. 5 of the fourth series, contains the "Recitations of Buddhist Priests when going on their begging expeditions." No. 69 of the third series expounds a most important part of a Buddhist's belief: "The Principles of the Metempsychosis." May not a limited view of this doctrine have given rise to the notion entertained of the atheism of the Buddhists? They believe in Nibano, (annihilation,) *ergo*, they do not believe in the immortality of the soul. But, say the Buddhists, the soul must transmigrate until it becomes *absolutely perfect*, pure as God, then it becomes Nibano, loses its individuality, and by its very perfection becomes part of the first cause. Abstractedly as well as practically, therefore, immortality would appear to be acknowledged; and the consequences of transmigration are stimulants to moral action.

The last work I shall notice in the catalogue is the 6th of the second series, and written almost entirely in Pali; it contains "Prayers used in Temples." Sir John Davis says, he thinks these, [and of course all the works in Pali,] as unintelligible to the votaries, as the Latin Paternoster to a Romish kitchen-maid. No doubt the votary knows nothing about Pali, but are we sure that the priest does not? The Roman Catholic priest understands the Latin, although the Romish kitchen-maid is ignorant of it; and in a similar manner the Chinese Buddhist priest may understand his Pali, and a work in the catalogue would seem to indicate that this object is not lost sight of. No. 44 of the third series, is a treatise on the "True Pronunciation of the Pali Words in the Treatise on Repentance." Now it does seem probable, as the priests are so careful about the true sound of Pali words, that they would not be unmindful about their meaning; and I would fain hope, disguised as the Pali works are by their Chinese characters, that they may yet be transferable into some of the European languages, I wish I could say into English; but our Chinese scholars are but few indeed, and our Pali scholars fewer still, although we have some of both in the East.

I now take leave of the Catalogue, with the expressions of my warm acknowledgement to Sir John Davis and Mr. Gutzlaff for its transmission, and I trust I have shown that the bare titles of some of the works are not altogether destitute of interest.

List of the Principal Buddhistical Works from the Pali, in Chinese Characters. By Mr. Gutzlaff.

I. Works in Pali, with the expression of the sound in Chinese characters.

1. Sha fat leen hwa king. Buddhistical tenets respecting the lotus flower.

2. Kin kwang ming tsuy shing king. The exceedingly bright gold; a work detailing the glories of Buddha.

3. Kin kwang ming king. Explanation of the bright gold; some rhapsodial praises of Buddha.

4. Ta tze kin kăng king. The adamantine classic, in large characters; a treatise upon the abiding and unalterable principles of Shamanism.

5. Kin kăng pwan joo king. Some tales about the disciples of Buddha; almost entirely in Pali.

6. Kwan yin poo mun pin king. Life and actions of the goddess Kwanyin.

7. Te tsang poo să pun yuen king. Vows and aspirations addressed to the idols.

8. Yo sze joo lae kung tih king. A treatise on the miraculous power in healing diseases, of the coming Buddha.

9. Woo leang show. A treatise on eternal life.

10. Fŭh shwŏ mo le che teën king. Legends of Buddha: mostly in Pali.

11. Kung tseŏ ming wang king. A collection of tales: greater part Chinese.

12. Fan kăng poo sat kae king. Prohibitory precepts of Buddha.

13. O me to king. Ejaculations in praise of Buddha; Pali.

14. Seaou tsae yen show pih tow king. A treatise on the North star, to prove how, by adoring the constellation, one may avert evil and prolong life.

15. Kaou wang Kwan yin king. Legends about Kwanyin, the goddess of mercy; Pali.

16. Chuh seang ta fe seën. Treatise on repentance and contrition: partly Pali, partly Chinese.

17. Hung ming paou seën. Doctrine of universal Repentance: greater part in Pali.

18. Hwa yen paou seën. Treatise on penance: greater part in Pali.

19. San tseën fŭh seën. Penitence before the gods: in Pali.

20. Tseën fŭh paou seën. On repentance for the satisfaction of the idols: in Pali.

21. Yŏ sze paou seën. Stories about repentance: mostly in Pali.

22. Leang hwang paou seën. A legend of a Conversion: mostly in Pali.

23. Shĭh wang paou seën. The history of the repentance of ten kings: mostly in Pali.

24. San mei shwny seën. Treatise on the regenerative power of conversion.

25. Chao teën koe. A dissertation upon the nature of the nine Heavens: mostly in Pali.

26. Kin kang king. Compendium of the doctrines of Buddhism.

27. Poo mun pin. Principles of Buddhism.

II. Works almost entirely in Pali.

1. Choo sha ling yen choo. A manual for prayer.
2. Ta fe shin chow. Prayers to merciful idols.
3. Heüe pwan seën. Heartfelt ejaculations.
4. Tae yang tsun king. Contemplation of the glory of the sun.
5. Heüe pwan king. A help to devotion.
6. Gan shĭh shin king. Prayers used in temples.

III. Books if not entirely, still the greater part in Chinese.

1. Ta fang kwang fuh hwa yen kin. A treatise for spreading the glory of Buddha.

2. Ta fŭh ting show ling yen king. Splendour of Buddha; a treatise in praise of the idol: great part in Pali.

3. Ling yen king ching mĭh. Some rhapsodies about Buddhism.

4. Ling yen king tsĭh choo. An explanation of the above work.

5. Ling kea pĭh ke. Annals of Buddhism.

6. Ling kea king sin yin. Quintessence of Buddhism.

7. Kin kăng loŏ e. General principles of Buddhism.

8. Kin kăng she neën. A manual of general prayers.

9. Neën fŭh she neën. A manual of prayer: mostly Pali, as well as the above.

10. Fan kang king soo e. A full commentary upon the doctrines of Buddhism.

11. Yuen keŏ sew to lo leaou e king. Explanation of the mysterious doctrines.

12. Yuen keŏ king chĭh keae. Principles of the faith elucidated.

13. Ta me to king. A description of Buddha.

14. Me to king heaou keae. Explanation of the various important points of the above work.

15. Me to king soo sheou. A paraphrase of the above work.

16. Wei mo so shwŏ king. Explanation in the common language of some doctrinal points.

17. Wei mo king choo. A commentary upon the above work.

18. King kăng king keae e. A commentary on the dogmas of Buddhism.

19. King kăng king keuĕ e. A solution of doubtful points respecting Buddhism.

20. Kin kăng king joo e. True meaning of the dogmatical part of Buddhism.

21. Kin kăng king chĭh shwŏ. A plain exposition of Buddhism.

22. Kin kăng sung tung. Progress of Buddhism.

23. Yu lan pwan king choo. An explanation upon sundry rites of Buddhism.

24. Chun te king. A dissertation on idols: mostly in Pali.

25. Fŭh shwŏ teēn wang king. A treatise on the Celestial king, according to the doctrines of Buddhism.

26. Fŭh shwŏ pă sze king. The eight masters; a treatise on demonology: these two works mostly Pali.

27. Sin king choo keae. A commentary upon the devotional precepts.

28. Chin sin chĭh shwŏ. A dissertation on truth.

29. Sze shĭh urh chang king. The forty-two precepts.

30. Wei keaou king. Posthumous precepts of Buddhism.

31. Nēĕ paou chae peĕ king. Sundry observations upon the system of polytheism.

32. Cheen lun woo taou king. A dissertation on the Metempsychosis.

33. Ta fei seēn fă. Principles of repentance.

34. Sze fun pe kew kae pun. Prohibitory laws.

35. Pe kew ne kae pun. Restrictions upon votaries: both mostly in Pali.

36. Pe kew kae soo e. A commentary upon the above two works.

37. Sha me leuh e heaou leŏ. The first principles of Shamanism.

38. Sha me heaou leŏ tsang choo. A commentary upon the above work.

39. Sha mun jih yung. Lessons for daily practice.

40. Chen mun jih sung. Guide to contemplation.

41. Choo king jih sung. Guardian of the soul, for daily recitation.

42. Chen mun tsan pun. Praises of idols.

43. Chuh seang yun tse yen kow ko. A treatise on the sublime.

44. King seēn chih yin. True pronunciation of the Pali words in the treatise on Repentance.

45. Tin teēn yen muh. A view of Heaven.

46. Shih kea joo lae ching taou ke. Particulars about the coming Buddha.

47. Luh tsoo tan king. Treatise on diverse idols.

48. Che yue luh. The moon and her phases.

49. Chen lin paou heun pĭh shwŏ. The precepts respecting contemplation illustrated.

50. Wun shen tung kwei. High aim of virtue.

51. Kwei yuen chĭh che. Treatise on the origin of things.

52. Ke sin lun chĭh keae. An explanation respecting the origin of faith.

53. Fă keae gan lih thoo shwŏ. An explanation of the pictures representing the regions of the blessed.

54. Keŏ hoo tsĭh. A Miscellany on sundry subjects.

55. Luh taou tsih. The six sublime principles.

56. Yung kea tsih. A treatise upon everlasting happiness.

57. Chung fang kwo sze yu luh. A legend about some wonderful teacher.

58. O ho shang yu luh. Sayings of priests.

59. Kwang tseuen tae tsih. The spread of light; general promulgation of Buddhism.

60. Lâng ho shang yu lŭh. Maxims of the priest Lâng.

61. Hoo fă lun. A dissertation on the protective power of Buddha.

62. Lung shoo tsĭng too. Buddhistical legends.

63. Tsĭng to hwŏ wăn. A treatise on purity, in dialogues.

64. Tsăng to tsēĕ heaou. Leading principles of purity.

65. Tsăng to tsēĕ king. A dissertation on the doctrines of purity.

66. Ying heang lun. A treatise on retribution.

67. Yun tse wei kaou. Some rhapsodies about the invisible world.

68. Yun tse fang sang wan. Self-sacrifice in behalf of higher objects. Literally, "Laying down life for a perch in the clouds."

69. Hwa sing e kwei. Principles of the metempsychosis.

70. Poo chao u chen sse sew sin keuĕ. Important sayings of a celebrated teacher.

71. Choo tsan heaou keuĕ. Important maxims of Shamanism.

72. Che kwan tso chen fă heaou. A guide to contemplation.

73. Tung choo heun leŏ. Principles and doctrines of Shamanism.

74. Pa chĭh kwei keu leŏ shwŏ. Dogmas and rules.

75. Se fang pă keu. The region of Buddha; descriptive of the idol's abode.

76. Leën tsung tseih heaou. The most important points about the water lily.

77. Hwuy shun king tsĭh keu sih. About the abode of bliss.

78. Keae kan pëen. A treatise on retributive justice.

79. Tsung hing luh. A work on exploits and marvellous doings of the Shamans.

80. Hwang shih kung soo shoo. A treatise on alchymy.

81. Tseuen jin keu hwo. The whole duty of man; an excellent treatise on ethics.

82. Ping heuen chung shing. The vesper call; a kind of missal.

83. Ta heŏ kăng muh. A general view of important doctrine.

84. Chung yung chĭh che. Hints about the golden medium.

85. Muh new thoo. A pastor's manual.

86. Tseuen săng thoo. Rules for the election of priests.

87. Tsae kin tan. A dissertation on realities.

88. Lo foŭ shan che. A description of the Lo-fow monastery (near Canton).

89. Sih shan tsze she. Odes in praise of Buddhism.

90. Mee hwa she. Odes to celebrate Shamanism.

91. He tang tsih. Doctrine of non-entity (of the void).

92. Kin yu tung she. Eulogies to exalt Buddha.

93. Kin kang ching yen. A true view of Shamanism.

94. Tsăng too san king. The three-fold road to purity.

95. Hwa yen paou king. A mirror of excellence; the highest state of perfection.

96. Sin king wei tseuen. A select volume for the garden of the soul.

97. Hway hae seaou tsaou. A legend.

98. Yuh hwang chin king. The true version of Yŭ hwang's (or idol's) story.

99. Hing ming teaou le. A collection of successive regulations issued during the reign of Taoukwang.

IV. Religious Works.

1. Chen lin paou heun pĭh shwŏ. Treatise containing the principal doctrines of Buddhism in intelligible language, with a commentary.

2. Fuh mun ting che. Addresses to idols, forms of prayers, masses for souls in purgatory, &c., &c.

3. Kwan ling kea ke. Addresses to the goddess of mercy.

4. Ling kea king sin yin. A collection of vagaries respecting Buddha and Kwanyin.

5. Chang sing teën. Recitations of Buddhist priests when going on their begging expeditions.

6. Fuh tsoo chuen tăng. Stories about Buddha and his associates.

7. Keae hwŏ peën. A defence of Buddhism.

8. Lo han ke. Representations of the disciples of Buddha on black paper, with some remarks.

9. Taou yen nuy wae. Vagaries, legends, and stories about Laoutsze.

10. Wei mo keih so shwŏ king. A Buddhistical legend: partly in Pali.

11. Luh taou tsĭh. A collection of Buddhistical legends.

12. King she kin shoo. A treatise on the contempt of the world.

13. Po lo wae ke. Buddhistical recitations.

14. Pih tow kew hwang king. Pious ejaculations to the north star.

V. Ethics.

1. King sin luh. Faith and good works: a system of morals founded on the prevailing religions.

2. Paou shen peën. Discourses on virtue.

3. Tae shang kan ying. A system of reward and punishment; illustrated by numerous examples.

4. Sze sin paou keën. A treatise on the necessity of preserving the life of every animal.

5. Sing ming Kwei che. The relation of man to the visible and invisible.

6. Kea paou. Domestic jewels; excellent precepts, directions, exhortations, examples, &c., to render people happy.

7. Lun heang. A treatise on truth.

8. Kan ying peën chĭh keang. A treatise on the rewards of virtue.

9. Tan kwei tsih. Useful and pious lessons.

10. Neen shing taou. Pious reflections.

The above works are the choice of the Buddhistical library, and contain the whole body of doctrines and ethics, that were brought to China. The works in Pali would be unintelligible even to a scholar of that language, on account of the indistinctness with which the Chinese characters convey the sound, and jumble the words together.

Art. VIII.—*The Narrative of Sidí Ibrahim ben Muhammed el Messi el Súsi, in the Berber Language; with Interlineary Version and Illustrative Notes, by* F. W. Newman, Esq.

[A short account of the following Narrative was given in the Fourth Volume of the Society's Journal, page 115; and was followed by the English translation of Mr. Hodgson, made, not from the Berber, but from an Arabic version. The original MS. remained with the Society unedited, in consequence of the difficulties attending its transcription. The Society has been relieved from these difficulties by the proffered services of Mr. Newman, whose previous studies in a kindred dialect enabled him to undertake the task of transcribing the MS., and adding an interlineary translation. Although Mr. Newman had completed his labours last Midsummer, the pressure of other matter has prevented their publication till now. Feb., 1847.—Ed.]

انّ الطالب سيد برهيم امحمد امسّت اگن اسوس ∴

.Susi est-quæ Messe Muhammedi (ὁ) Ibrahim Sayyid doctor Dixit

ادغ انفع ربّ سلبركت اگرمنس ∴ امين ✿

.Amen .ejus sanctorum benedictionem per Dominus juvet nos (Uti)

انّ نتّى فكّينس: الّا غدر ببس اگ افرخ منّين: ار اتّد

ventitat :parvus puer erat ? suum patrem apud Erat :suum caput super ille Dixit

ستمزگد | ار گس يقر غدر الطلب | اسمنس سد محمد امحمد

Muhammedi ὁ Muhammed Sidi ejus nomen doctorem apud legit eâ-in Moskam in

امست اگن اسوس ∴ ار درس يقرسن د مروا اسكّس د نص وبض ∴

.alterius dimidium et annorum decem et duo legit eum-Apud .Suso e est quæ Messâ e

ارس يگّ ببس اغرم اد سكس الّ اشتّ ار اتمنيت تفوت

denarios ? octo ad usque vescatur quo *cuscusu* et panem ejus-pater dat Ei

فكّينس كريگت اس ✿

.die unoquoque ejus caput super

ادك عودغ لخبر ان تمزرت مسّت كلتن ∴ الن گس سدمرو

septemdecim eâ-in Erant .omnino Messæ civitatis cognitionem referam Tibi

ان دشر ∴ ايل گس السّق غترمتنس ∴ يل گس الملّح

munimentum eâ-in Est .ejus-medio-in macellum eâ-in Est .vicorum

اوديّن غدشر امغر اسمنس مبارك ابجمن: الن ويض غدر

apud alterum ὃν : Badjman-ὁ Mubarek ejus-nomen reguli vico-in Judæorum

امغر برهم محمد ابو جمع ∴ امغرند سندس ايتمزن

capiunt . . . . . . duo ? hi-Reguli .Djamaa Abu Muhammedi τὸν Ibrahim regulum

غدين تنكست : ار گسن اتمزن كست تقين اتكت

familiâ pro uncias quatuor capiunt iis-ex :capitationem Judæis-e

غخف -اوير ∴ ام ودين | اغسند يشك العيد امسلمن غس نسبت

sabbatum intra Moslemorum festum advenerit iis-si Judæi Sed .mensis capite in

| اركن توقيت ايين گسن -امغرن | -اغ ودى -ال تديت | غغرخ -الا

aut puerolo pro :Judæâ aut Judæo pro ? regulorum unicuique unciam dant

تفرخت | يمزيت انغ امقر ۞

.grandibus aut parvis :puellulâ

انعود اوول يضنن الگش ال الن غست ∴ الگش سدمروت ادمى

100 et ? 17 Populus .Mesâ in est-qui populum reliquo sermoni Referamus

ارگز ∴ ام تمغرن -ال تفرخن مزينن -ال فرخن امزين | -ارد يو

ducit non :parvi pueruli aut parvæ puellulæ aut mulieres Sed .viri

العدد نسن اغر رب ∴ ام تكمنسن تنعشر مى -انص ∴ ام

Sed. [sc. 50.] dimidium et 100 12 eorum domus Sed .Dominus nisi eorum numerum

ايسنسن | مى -اتمنين -اويس ادرسن الن ∴ ام ايسند اليك بدرغ

n.emoravi tibi-quos hi-equi Sed .sunt iis equi 80 et 100 ,eorum equos

اغد | ار فلسن تسدن | ار سرسن كرزن : -ال زگرن | ار سرسن كرزن

arant eos per boves aut :arant eos per ? conscendunt eos-supra ·loci hic

-ال اسردان | ار سرسن كرزن ∴ ام ايسند | ار تن تسدن

conscendunt eos hos-equos Sed .arant hos per ,mulos aut

ار سرسن اتمغن اد ون يگن العدنسن ۞

.suis hostibus οὖσιν τοῖς cum pugnam faciant ? (ut)

ام تمزرت | ال گس كر درن مدن اغ لشجر ∴ ام لشجر |

arbores Sed .arboribus in homines nominant quidquid ibi erat :regionem Sed

الِ گس وضل -الَ تزرت -ال كنر -الَ تين -ار لِتشبن -ار ازنبوح

citreum ? aut aurantium aut ? datta aut cactus ? aut ficus aut vinea ibi sunt

-ار ادفنج -ار لِمشمش -الا البرقوق -الا -الدلّح والبتخ -الا اكن -ار زِيت العو

Udana ? olea aut . . . aut melo et . . . . aut prunum aut præcoquum aut malum aut

-الا زِيت اركن ∴ -ار كلِفن -ار ولِ اول اِزكرن دِغيل -الَ يرمن ∴

cameli neque asini et boves neque grex neque desunt ? Non Arganica ? olea aut

اِم اسِف اِک تزمت ان تمزِرت تِغزِنس الغ اِفغد لبحر ∴

mare (in) exit donec ejus . . . . regionis medium præterit flumen Sed

اِم البِع -اشر الِ گس الِن اكِت : الن گس ودين -ار يمسلمن ∴

Moslemi aut ? Judæi ibi ὄντες :est-multa οὖσα ibi quæ venditio et emtio Sed

اِم الكتب الِ الِن غتمزگدِ وِنسن | -ار ديِو العدد نسن اغر ربِ ∴

Dominus nisi eorum numerum ducit non ,eorum Moskis in ὄντες qui libros Sed

اِم طلبنسن اكتن -ار لحجاج -الا الشرف -اول گرمن ∴ ادغ

Nos Sancti aut Honorati aut Hadjæ aut sunt-multi eorum-doctores Sed

نفع ربِ سلبركنسن ∴ آمين : والسلام ∴

eorum-benedictionem per Dominus juvet

ونرد عليك لخبر المل الِ اكن ايت مست -اگلِد ملى

Mulai Imperatori Messæ gens dant quam pecuniæ cognitionem tibi reddamus Et

عبد رحمان كريگن اسگس ∴ ارس اكن سمس اِقنضرن المل

pecuniæ centupondia quinque dant Ei anno unoquoque Rahlımân Abd

كريگن اسگس : ار اسگسد فلغ اِن واحد -اخمسِن عام ∴

annos 50 et unum ὄντα nos-contra hunc-annum ad usque anno unoquoque

انيسن : لبد اِيتزيدم يوقنضر يضِنِن فلملد : اتِكم اِدرس فلون ∴

vos-contra paullum Dabitis super alterum unum mihi Profecto : iis Dixit
hanc pecuniam centupondium augebitis

لرنسد انتن الوجب | اننس : -الله | -ارك نك اغر سمس اقنضرن

centupondia 5 nisi dabimus non Deum Per : ei dixerunt, responsum illi [Tum?] ei-rettulerunt

اليك ادل نك دسمك | توى ديو يس سلغ نتن : اليك

tibi-quæ : illa quam-amplius? equum-unum-et ancillam, servum-et dedimus heri tibi-quæ

نك غكريگن اسگس ∴ انكر القيد عبد الصدق ال گس

ibi qui Essadk Abdu Prætor Surrexit anno unoquoque-in dabamus

الخلفت -اگلد غس ان تردنت : اسرفد سرسن خمس -اخمسين

50-et 5 eos-in misit : Tarudanam intra Imperatoris vicarius

-اويس : انيسن ∴ لبد ايتفكم سضس اقنضرن المل

pecuniæ centupondia 6 dabitis-mihi Profecto. iis-dixit; equos

دسمك | توى دسدس اليسن ادى تنزيدم ∴ انكرن انتن |

illi Surrexerunt augebitis mihi equos 6-et ancillam, servum-et

اطبنسد ايسن الن سرسن اسرف : اننسن ∴ سرت اردر القيد

Prætorem ad Pergite : iis dixerunt .misit eos-in quos? equos ei-reppulerunt

الكند سرنغ اسرف : انتس ∴ -ارد اكنزيد حت مى غلملد

hac-pecuniâ-in quidquam vel augebimus-tibi Non : ei-dicite : misit nos in vos qui

الس اغننت ∴

dicis-nobis de-quâ

ام يسند ال سرسن اسرف | -اورند دغرسنسن الغد الكمن

pervenerunt donec ipsorum-iter-per? rediere ,misit eos-in quos hi-equi Sed

تردنت در القيد عبد الصدق ∴ انيسن القيد : فكتي لخبر

cognitionem mihi-date : Prætor iis-Dixit. Essadk Abdu Prætorem apud Tarudanam

منك يون اجرن ديت مست ∴ اننس ∴ غسلغ ندرسن

eorum-domi quo-Die : ei-Dixerunt .Messe gente-cum processerit vobis quomodo

نشك | مند كل فلغ غدر تكم ׃ امغرنسن انسغر فلسن

iis-coram legeremus (ut) ipsorum Reguli domum apud obviam omnes convenere, advenimus
nobis

تبرت اليغ سرسن تفكت ∴ سولند كل سرنغ سيت كلت : اننغ ∴

dixerunt omni gente-in nos-in omnes Locuti-sunt .dedisti eos-in nobis-quam epistolam
nobis ejus

كلبت دغرسنن : ار سل ردونغك حت مي ∴ كلبند ايسن ال

illi ? equi Redierunt quidquam vel dabitur-vobis amplius non : vestram-viam-per? Redite

اردر القيد ∴ انكر القيد | سرفد سهدكلنس كنتي امغرن ال اتحكمنن

regentes qui reguli suos-amicos-ad misit ,Prætor Surrexit .Prætorem ad

اغ وشتكن كلنن | ال كنن ادجرن نيت مست ∴ انكرن امغرن |

,reguli Surrexerunt .Messæ gentis vicini *ovres oi*? omnibus Ashtukis in

مند كل فلسن كلتي ∴ انيسن القيد : مني ارنسكر ديت مستد ∴

hâc-Messæ gente-cum faciemus Quid :Prætor iis-Dixit .omnibus iis-obviam omnes convenere

سولند سرس امغرن اوشتكن | اننس ∴ لبد ادسرفت اولنك اردر اكلد

Impera- ad vocem mittas est :ei-dixerunt ,Ashtukorum reguli re-eâ-super sunt
torem tuam Necesse Locuti

غمركش ∴ انيس غتبرتنس : لبد ادي تسرفت طحلت الستوغ سيت

gente-in perdat-qui exercitum mittas mihi est suâ-epistolâ in-ei-Dixit .Marragushâ-in
Necesse

مست عصني ∴ انكر اكلد | اسرفسد تلت الف دزكن ايسن | اكفتند

iis-dedit ,equorum dimidium-et 1000 3 ei-misit ,Imperator Surrexit hos-rebelles Messæ

القيد الطيب الدن : امن ددسن اردر الخلفت اكلد غتردنت ∴

.Tarudunâ-in Imperatoris vicarium apud iis-cum convenit (qui) Eddini Ettayyib Prætorem

غسلغ تد تلكم الحلت اكلد | تنس درس كرض وضن ∴ انكر افغ

exiit ,Surrexit .noctes 4 eum-apud est ,Imperatoris turma pervenit eam quo-Die
commorata

ازورس اردر امغر طلب محمد اكرن غتنرمت ان تمزرت اوشتكن ∴

.Ashtukorum regionis medio-in Aggaran Muhammad Talleb regulum ad ei-præcessit

انبيس الطالب محمد · اگرن : لبد اتورت ستردنت : انك دخلفتنك |

tuo-vicario-et Mihi :Tarudanam-ad redeas Necesse-est :Aggaran Muhammed Ettalib ei-Dixit

الربيفت اردرسن | انسول سرسن سلحيلت ∴ انبس القيد : في ما خيرا كثيرا ∴

Cum bonis ominibus : Prætor iis-Dixit per-equitatum eos-in colloquamur ,eos-ad proficis-catur

انكرن امغرن-اوشتكن | اسدن ايسنسن | ازورن الحلت ار تموزرت نيت

gentis regionem ad exercitui præces-serunt ,suos-equos ascen-derunt ,Ashtukorum reguli Surrexerunt

حد غدرر ال الن غكور شتكن ددولتيت ∴ ام الحلت تكز غد ادرر

monte sub desiliit turma Sed Idaulitiam-et Ashtukos inter ἄν qui monte-in Hamdse

غك وسف-الغس غتمزرت نبكر ∴ گزند فلسن ابدررن | مغن ددسن

iis-cum pugnavere ,montani contra eos Descenderunt .Bukuræ regione-in Alghasi flumen supra

| كرض وسن : الغ دشكن اكرمن دشرف | صلحنتن ∴ اشكند ابدررن |

montani Accessere .eos-pacaverunt (et) Honorati-et Sancti accessere donec : dies tres

گزند سلمحلت | الن گس يوس ∴ اغدرتن القيد | يمز گسن

iis-ex comprehendit ,Prætor eos-Decepit diem-unum ibi ὄντες? ,exercitum-ad descenderunt

كز دمروا-ارگز مغرن : اسرقتند سدر القيد عبد الصادق غس تردنت ∴

Tarudanam intra EssÂdak Abdu Prætorem ad eos-misit : procerum virorum 10-et 4

غسلغ دكشمن سدر القيد | اب كل اكينسن كلتن يكلتن غك الباب

portam supra suspendit eos : omnium capita eorum omnia ampu-tavit ,Prætorem ad intraverunt quo-Die

الن گس ار تزمت ايض ∴ ارسغلدن اين گسن اريقر القران ايلغ افلحل :

lucesceret donec Koranum legeret (ut iis-ex uni noctis medium ad ibi ὄντας?

ارسغلدن اويض ارثهلل حت نتن ايلغ افلحل ∴ ام لحلت ال اگزن

desiliens qui exercitus Sed .lucesceret donec ille etiam jubiletur (ut) alteri

غك وسف-الغس | تورد سدر ايت مست : تكزد فلسن فلمل السن استن

dixit-iis de-quâ propter pecuniam contra eos descendit ; Messæ gentem ad rediit ,Alghasi flumen supra

القيد | ادى تغكم ∴ تكزن فلسن اض العيد الملبد | تل درسن
eos-apud est ,Nativitatis festi nocte eos-contra Descenderunt .dabitis Mihi ,Prætor

ار سبع العيد : ارس تدفعن المل ايلغ اسكملن صدص اقنطرن
centupondia sex perfecere-ei donec pecuniam absolvant ei (ut) ; festi septimum ? usque-ad

المال دنص -اوبض غفس نشخ الحس -ادليم | ارتك كرس
eum-inter præterit (qui) Udlaimi Elhhasn sapientis manu-in alterius dimidium-et pecuniæ

دسن | انتن دلقيد ∴ انيسن : لبد ادتشكم اردر | تسكسم
(ut) ,requiescatis ,me-apud adveniatis est-Necesse iis-Dixit Prætori-et illis ,iis-cum

انجمع ∴ اننس انتن : -الله -ار سر ددك نتمقر ابدا |
unquam occurremus tecum posthac non ,Deum-Per ; illi ei-Dixerunt .unà-simus

مقر ركل نرحل غتمزرتد كلت ∴ انيسن القيد : -اتتن سلنغض ∴
.tormenta-per eos-Feri : Prætor iis-Dixit .totâ hâc-regione-ex fugiamus omnes quanquam

تنكر الحلت | تسد كل ايسنسن | فتن ستكم | ار تنت خلن ∴
.vastant eas domos-in proficiscuntur : suos-equos omnes ascendit ,turma Surrexit

امغرنتد انتن سلبرود | امغن دسن انص -اوس الغ ترزن ∴
fregerunt-eam donec diei dimidium iis-cum pugnavere ,nitrato-pulvere illi ei-Occucurrere

اقلسن لنغض | ارت نغن ايلغ رمن | امزن كسن سبع مي
centum sex iis abstulerunt ; dejecerunt donec necant eam ,tormenta iis-Reliquit

-ايس ∴ فلنسن الخزين : -اركسنت ال جنجون اغر ست
sex præter effugerunt ? quæ iis-ex non ; armamentaria iis-Reliquerunt .equorum

تخزنن ∴ ام المكحل | -ارك لن العدد | ارزن تن انص -اوس
diei dimidium eos-frangebant, numerus ἂν tibi-non (quorum) ,scloppos Sed cistas

ايلغ الكمن تمزرت -اوشتكن ∴ ام ايت مست | -ار درس ال اغر
nisi erat eâ-cum non ,Messæ gentem Sed .Ashtukorum regionem pervenere donec

ايت -اكل ديت زنت .·. غود كدرسن الن | اكن الكش .·. ام لنغض

tormenta Sed plebs erant? *ὄντες* iis cum-*ol* Tot .Teznisæ gens-et Aglui gens

البسن افل غسلغ ددسن امعن | امزن تنن غمزرتنسن ايلغ اسند

sibi donec suas-fines-in duo asportabant ,pugnavere iis-cum quo-die reliquit iis-quæ

ارر المل ال كس يمز سفص اقنضرن المل دزكن المل .·.

.pecuniæ dimidium-et pecuniæ centupondiæ sex ablata-erat ibi quæ pecunia reddita-est

لرنسد المدافعنس البس كسن غسلغ ددس امغن .·. غد ايكن

οὕτω Hic .pugnabant eo-cum quo-die avulserant? ei-quæ ejus-tormenta ei-Reddidere

اتم -اوول ال يقعن غكرايت مست دخلفت -اكلد ال تحكمن

administrans qui Imperatoris vicarium-et Messæ gentem inter cadens quod negotii summa

فيت مست | غكد ادسن كل اجرن .·. والسلام .·.

vicina omnia iis-et illic ,Messæ gente-super

الباب الخبار ان تمزرت ان تزرولت .·.

Tezerwelæ regione de cognitionum Caput

ان الطلب سيد برهم -امحمد اكن -امست -اسوس .·. ان |

,Dixit .Susi Messæ est-qui Muhammed ὁ Ibrahim Sayyid doctor Dixit

اسفر غزوت ان تزرولت | ار كس يقر سبرن غدر

apud menses-septem legeret ibi (ut) Tezerwelæ Moskulam-in ivit-peregrè

الطلب سد محمد اجل | اك الطح مقرن .·. ام العدد نطلب

doctorum numerus Sed maximum lumen fuit (qui) A'djeli Muhammed Sidi doctorem

ال درس اقرن اربع -اسبعن ادكن .·. ام تنبن -اتلتن كسن ارقرن

legunt iis-ex 30-et 2 Sed sunt 70 et 4 legentes eum-apud qui

العلم غدرس : سد خلل دللفى -ال كريكن -الشخ ان

qui? sapientium unumquemque aut Lalfiyam-et Khalil Sidi (legunt) : eum-apud scientiam

ادلن فلعلم ∴ ام غون يضنن ار درس اقرن القران ∴ ام الطعم

cibus Sed Koranum legunt eum-apud alii tot Sed scientiâ-de docentes

ال شتن الطلب | حت ين -اريسن يك يبت اغر بب نتمزرت

regionis princeps nisi quidquam dat iis-haud quisquam vel ,doctores vescuntur quò

هشام | الل گس اتحكم ∴ ادفع الزوت نسن الل نبدر | سدست

6 memoravimus quam eorum Moskulæ Præbet .regit ibi qui ,Hishamus

توين اد سدس اسمگن | ار سنون الطعم الطلب الل نبدر ∴

memoravimus quos doctoribus cibum coquant (ut) servos 6 et ancillas

ام العدد ان دشر ان تمزرت اتز ادگن ∴ ام القسبت نهشام اتل

est Hishami arx Sed .sunt 9 regionis vicorum numerus Sed

غنزمت ان تمزرت : ايل الملح -اوديين اغد تسگنس تزلمت ∴ ام

Sed .sinistrum ejus-latus ? sub Judæorum munimentum Est : regionis medio-in

السق ال بد غم لسبت كريگن اس ∴ ام القسبت تبن كل سلجر

calce tota ædificata-est arx Sed .die unoquoque arcis ore-in stetit erat macellum

دليجور دكلبز -الورق : كل الخ ان سنبر ∴ ام المل اگت درس

ibi abundat supellex Sed .pinu-e tabellæ omnes saxis-et

بهر ∴ ام ترفكنس ارفتنت ار تنبكت | فتنت السدان |

,Nigritiam (ad) proficiscuntur ,Timbuktu ad-usque proficiscuntur ejus-comitatus Sed .valde

فتنت سسحر | فتنت سگردر ندوم : ارفت ار

ad-usque proficiscitur : Uddaumi Agardir-per proficiscuntur Saharam-per proficiscuntur

تمزرد الل سگنغ : ار گسنت اسغ اخسن العج دريش -اسد :

: struthio-cameli plumas-et eboris ossa emat iis-in (ut) indicavi quas has-regiones

ار گس اسغ اسمگن | ار د گس اسغ -اوغ دتبر سنقرت ∴

argentum-per aurum-purum-et aurum emat ibi servos emat ibi

ام ترگفتنس اغ تغب | ارد تورى غتمزرد الّ سكّنغ ار

ad-usque indicavi quas has-regiones-in redit non ,eat-peregre si ejus-comitatus Sed

اخف -اسگّس يضنن ∴ امّ ترگفتنس اغ تغل غتمزرن ارس د اتّو

portat eò has-regiones-in revertatur si ejus-comitatus Sed .alterius anni caput

الملّ اگّتن | ارتّد اسرف التّجار الّ اگّنن امدكّللنس اغ تسّرت :

.Tassurâ in ejus-amici *οντες* qui negotiatores-(ad) mittat eam ,multam supellectilem

ازنزسن كلّ غين دفعتنس گس انتن السّلعت يضين | لملف

gossipinum ? :aliam mercem illi ibi ei-præbent ibidem ? omne iis-vendit

دلكّتان دلحّرير دوزال دلهنت دلبان دلمرجان دلقرنفل دلسنبل

nardum-et caryophylla-et margaritas-et thus-et chalybem?-et ferrum-et sericam-et linteum-et

دلخزم دلفخار دلجاج : اول كّر يدر ام غلبر ايرميين |

,Christianorum terrâ-e (hominis)-os memorat quidquid aut ; vitrum-et fictilia-et -et

ارس تد اتّزن ∴ امّ السّلعتد اليك فد يدرغ اتّد | اكّن تلّكم |

,pervenit ut ,eam ? memoravi hic ? tibi-quam haec-merx Sed remittunt id ei

منّد كلّ فلس اسبّبن امسلمن اول وودين | سغنت كلّ !

omne id-emunt ,Judæorum aut Moslemorum negotiatores ei-obviam omnes conveniunt

درس ∴ غكّد اسكّر اغ لسبّبنس ابدا ∴ والسلام ۞

.semper ejus-negotio in opus hæc-Secundum ? .ibi

اذك زيدغ فوول ان هشام دغ اذك ملغ منشك ∴ اذگن

sunt sigillatim ? ostendam tibi iterum Hishamo de negotium-ad augebo Tibi

ترونس تنعش ارگز | ار كلّ تسدن فيسنسن ∴ امّ ايسنسن |

,eorum-equis Sed .suos-equos-in ascendunt omnes (qui) ,viri 12 ejus-proles

گن خمسو تلتين -اويس ادرسن : الن ار كلّ فلسن اتسدن ∴ ام

Sed .ascendunt eos-in cuncti quos ? ,eos-apud equorum 30 et-5 erant

ازگرن دول درغمن | ‑ارد يو العددنسن اغر ارب ∴ ام العدد
numerus Sed .DOMINUS nisi eorum-numerum ducit non ,cameli-et greges-et boves

ان تمغرن ال اتهل | كسط ملانين دصدصت توون ∴ ام يوس
ejus-filius Sed .ancillæ sex-et albæ quatuor (est) sibi-junxit quas mulierum

ال مقرن | انشت ال اتهل ببس | ابتهل غتمزغن : ام اتوون | يتسل
superat ,ancillis sed : liberas-inter duxit-hicce ,ejus-pater duxit quas instar ,maximus qui

گسنت ببس ∴ ام ايسنسن اليک غد بدرغ | ‑اور فلسن
eos-in non ,memoravi hic tibi-quos eorum-equis Sed .suum-patrem iis-in

اتسد اغر ترو نهشام كلتن ∴ ام العدد الگش ال الن غتزرولت
Tezerwelâ-in οὖσα quæ plebis numerus Sed .omnes Hishami proles nisi ascendit

اربعتعشر مى ادگن ∴ ام تمغرن | تزنين | مريدنين | ‑ار ديو العدد نسن
eorum numerum ducit non ,pueri ,puellæ ,mulieres Sed .sunt 100 14

اغر رب ∴ الن درسن ميتين ‑اويس بل يوک ونهشام ∴ ام العدد
numerus Sed .Hishami-τῷ sine equorum 200 eos-apud Erant DOMINUS nisi

ان تكمنسن النت درسن سبع مى ‑انص : ام العدد الكتب ال
qui librorum numerus Sed : dimidium-et 100 7 eos-apud sunt eorum-domuum

الن غتمزگد نس مى ‑اتلتين اگس ∴ الن گس كز امزغ اتيرن
scripti Amazighani 4 ibi Erant ibi 30-et 100 ejus Moskâ-in ὄντες

ستر اشلحين : ال ادان فوول ان بناصر : تيرن كل
omnes sunt-Scripti Bennaseri sermone-de docentes qui ; Shilhinorum scripturam-per

اغرس تشلحت ۞
. Shilhinitatis viâ

ادک عودغ اف لشجر ال كل الن غتمزرت : ادک كل
omnino? Tibi .regione-in οὖσαι omnes quæ arboribus super repetam Tibi

ملغ اسمونسن غد والّ گسن ازورن : تيين | تزرت | دوضل

vinea-et ,ficus ,datta ;præcellunt iis-in quæ-et hic eorum-nomina monstrabo

دلز دلگرگع دلرمان دلتشن دلزنبوح والبرقوق

prunum-et citreum?-et aurantium-et granatum-malum-et -et amygdalus-et

دلمشماش : كلّ كر يبدر ام غلشجر الّ درسن ∴ ام

Sed .eos-apud erat arboribus-in (hominis)-os memorat quidquid omne ;præcoquum-et

اسف اك تزمت ان تمزرتنسن : ارس تنن اسف ان تززولت ∴

,Tezerwelæ Flumen appellant ei ;eorum-regionis medium præterit flumen

امّ سد هشام | ادك عودغ اتم | الّ حكمنس اگت : ادك كلّ

omnino? tibi ;ampla ejus-provincia est ,summatim? repetam tibi ;Hishâm Sidi Sed

ملغ اسمون نتمزر الّف يتحكم كلتن ∴ والسلام ❀

.omnes regit super-quas regionum nomina monstrabo

اقبل الّ گسن ازورن | ارس اتنن امجض ان تزلم : وسن |

,secunda : Tezlimi Imadjdjad appellant ei ;præcellens iis-in quæ Imprimis

ارس اتنن ايت ونكض وسكرض ارس اتنن ادوبعقل : وسكز ارس اتنن

quarta : Adaubâqil tertia Wankidæ Gens appellant ei

ادگرسمكت : وسمس ارس اتنن المعدر : وسدس ارس اتنن وجن :

: Wŭdjdjen sexta : Elmâder quinta : Idaggarsmukt

وست ارس اتنن ايت ابريم : وستم ارس اتنن ايت عبل .

; Abelli Gens octava ; Ibrayyim Gens septima

وستز ارس اتنن ايت رخ : وسمراو ارس اتنن افرن : وتحضعاش

undecima : Ifran decima ; Rechæ Gens nona

ارس اتنن ادولتت : وستنعاش ارس اتنن ادوسملال ∴ ام تمزرد

hæ-regiones Sed .Idausamlal duodecima ; Idaulitia

اليك كل غد بدرغ | حت پن -ار فلسنت اتحكم اغر انتن ∴

ille nisi regnat iis-super haud quisquam vel ,memoravi hìc omnes tibi-quæ

ارگسنت ارتب اگى | ارتب افسن | ارگسنت اسكر اكن ير ابداً ۞

.semper voluit sicut facit iis-in ,manus amputat ,capita amputat iis-in

ادك ملغ ما يگن لصل الهشام ∴ اگ لصلنس اسملال : لصل

radix : Esmilâl ejus-radix Est .Hishami radix *οὖσα* quæ monstrabo Tibi

اسملال اگت ملى دريس : ما يگت لصل ملى دريس محمد رسول

apostolus Muhammed ,Edrîsi Mulaii radix est Sed? : Edrîsus Mulai est Esmilalis

الله ∴ صلى الله عليه وسلم ∴ غكن ايك حت ملى عبد -الرحمان |

Urahhmân Abdu Mulai ad-usque etiam? Sic .Dei

اگ لصلنس افلال : اگ لصل افلال ملى دريس : لصل ملى دريس

Edrîsi Mulai radix ; Edrîsus Mulai Efilalis radix est : Efilal ejus-radix est

اگت محمد رسول -الله ∴ صلى الله عليه وسلم ∴ الفرقد ليلن

οὖσα hæc-Differentia Muhammed est

غكر عبد -الرحمان دگرس : دلهم كل | لصلنسن اگت محمد

Muhammed est eorum-radix ,utrisque his-pro-et : eum-inter-et Urrahhmân Abdu inter

رسول -الله ∴ صلى الله عليه وسلم ۞

الباب الخبار نتمزرت نتمگرت

Tamgruæ regione-de cognitionum Caput

ان الشيخ سيد حمد -المحمد ملى بناصر ∴ اترحم رب

Dominus misereatur-Ejus : Bennaser Mulai Muhammedi-ó Hammed Sidi sapiens Dixit

اغفرس ∴ امين ∴

.ei-condonet-(et)

انضم الكتبنس اس تمزغنت : اسمنس الكتاب امزغ ∴ ام

Sed .Amazighanus Liber ejus-nomen : Amazighanè suum-librum Composuit

الكتبد اليك غد بدرغ ادل قلفرض دسنت دلحلل دلحرام :

:illicito-et licito-et disciplinâ-et instituto-de docet memoravi hìc tibi-quem hic-liber

ارسول قلفرايض الض مرين -ار الض مقرن ∴ ابدر گس

eo-in Memorat maximarum lotionum aut parvarum lotionum institutis-de sermocinatur

الفرايض ان تزلت -ار اسننس : ابدر گس الفرايض -اوزم : ابدر

memorat ;jejunii instituta eo-in memorat ;ejus-disciplinæ aut precis instituta

گس الحلل -ار الحرام غگر مدن : ابدر گس ازكا دلفطر

solutio-jejunii-et eleemosyna ibi memorat ;homines inter illicitum aut licitum ibi

-الا كر يبدر ام غدنت اس احل -ار اس احرم : اغگر

inter :illicitum-sit num aut liceat num mundo-in (hominis)-os memorat quidquid aut

امسلمن -ار اودين -اول يرمين كر گسن دكر يضنن ∴

.aliud quidquid-et iis-in quidquid Christianos etiam-vel Judæos aut Moslemos

ام سد ملى عبد رحمان اريك اسد ببكر يوس ان بناصر سمس

5 Bennaseri filio Bubkero domino dat Rahhmân Abd Mulai Sidi Sed

اقنضر المال اكريكن اسكس ابدا ∴ ام سد ببكر اليک غد

hìc tibi-quem Bubker Sidi Sed .semper anno unoquoque-pro pecuniæ centupondia

بدرغ ارتسگيس غزوتنس ار اخف -اسگس : افغد گس | انتن

ille ,inde Exiit .anni caput ad-usque suâ-Moskulâ-in requiescit memoravi

دمدكلنس | ايشكد المدنت ال متنين تردنت : يلا گس ار اسد

ei donec ibi est :Tarudana appellata quæ urbem advenit ,ejus-socii-et

كل اسمن ايت سوس المال | ارس اكن اقنضار اكريكن

unaquaque-pro centupondium dant ei (et) pecuniam Susi Gens colligit omnino

تمزرت ∴ ام الشخ بناصر | اليك غد بدرغ | اگ ارگز اصلحن

sanctus vir est ,memoravi hic tibi-quam ,Bennaser sapiens Sed .civitate

غلر رب : انتن افكيس رب الحكم ارتحكم غلجن -ار

aut dæmones-in regnet (ut) sapientiam Dominus ei-dedit illi-Quippe Dominum apud

النس ∴ ادغ انفع رب سلبرك الجدنس ∴ امين والسلام ∴

.ejus-studii benedictionem-per Dominus juvet Nos .homines

الباب -اوول الّ الن غكر الهشم دلملى عبد -الرحمان ∴

Urrahman Abdu Mulai-et Hishamum inter δν quod negotii Caput

لبد ارسيد يزن الهشم الهديتنس : ام الهديتنس اليسد

ei-quod ejus-munusculum Sed .suum-munusculum Hishamus remittat ei est-Necesse

اتزن غكريگن اخف -اسكس ابدا | ارسد اتزن توى دسمگ ∴

.servus-et ancilla remittitur ei ;semper anni capite unoquoque remittitur

ام ملى عبد حمان لبد اديزن الهشم اقنضر الملل كريگن

unoquoque pecuniæ centupondium Hishamo remittat est-necesse Rahman Abdu Mulai Sed

اسكس | انيس : الصدق الجدنك سد حمد -امس ∴ ادغ انفع رب

Dominus juvet Nos .Mesâ-e Hamad Sidi tui-atavi Eleemosyna : ei-dixit ;anno

سلبرك ان زوتنس ∴ امين ∴

.ejus-Moskulæ benedictionem-per

الباب الخبار يضنن ∴

aliud? cognitionum Caput

ان الطلب سد برهم -امحمد -امست -اسوس ∴ اد اسفر

peregrinatus-est ,Ivit .Suso-e Mesâ-e Muhammedi-ó Ibrahim Sidi doctor Dixit

ستمزرت -اگل | ارگس يقر تز ايرن غدر الطلب | اسمنس سد

Sidi ejus-nomen ,doctorem apud menses novem legit ibi ,Aglui regionem-per

محمد بن حساين اجرار ∴ ام العدد نطلب الّ درس يقرن |
,legentes eum-apud qui doctorum numerus Sed .Adjarrar Hasâyin Ben Muhammed

تنين -اخمسين ادگن ∴ ام خمستعش ار درس اقران العلم عكريگن.
unoquoque-in scientiam legunt eum-apud 15 Sed .sunt 50-et duo

الشيخ الّ دلّن فلعلم ∴ ام غولّ يضنين | بقين ار درس اقران
legunt eum-apud reliqui ,restantes qui-iis-ex Sed .scientiâ-de docent qui sapiente

القران ∴ ام العدد الكتب الّ الّن غزوت -اكل تلت -اتمنين
80-et 3 Aglui Moskulâ-in *ὄντες* qui librorum numerus Sed .Koranum

الكتب ادگن ∴ الكتب -اومزغ -ار درس الّن اغرين ∴ ام طعم الّ
quo cibus Sed .unus nisi erant eum-apud non Amazighani Libri .sunt libri

شتن الطلب | تقبلت -اوگل ادسمن انصّ العشرنسن غيردن -اول
aut triticis-in eorum-decimarum dimidium colligit Aglui Tribus ,doctores vescuntur

تمزن -الا سنگر : -اول كر يبدر ام غنعمت | ار تد اسمن
colligit id ,frumentis-in (hominis)-os memorat quidquid aut ;milio? aut hordeis

كلتن : گنتن غزوتنسن ∴ ام تكم نزوت | ازدغنت گس كست
4 eâ-in habitant ,Moskulæ domus Sed .suam-Moskulam-in ea-ponunt (et) ;omnino

تكتن سلمر تتقبلت ار گس استونت الطعم الطلب ابدا ∴ ام
Sed .semper doctorum cibum coquant eâ-in (ut) Tribûs jussu familiæ

تمنيت | ار فلسن اقرض امغر على -اعبدلّ خمستعشر -اقبي اكريگن
unicuique uncias 15 Abdallæ-ô Ali regulus sancit iis-de ,pecunias

تكم : ار تنتد اسمن : فكنتنت الفقيه الّ اسقران : الطلب ارسن
sibi Doctores :legunt-ei qui Presbyteris eas-da*nt*? ;colligit eas :domui

اسغ الزيت تغي دصبون : -اول كريگن تغر سن يلن
ἂν τὸ per diversum-sit quidquid aut ;saponem-et carnem ,oleum emi*t*

غلخطرسن | ارسن تد اسغ غتمنيتن ∴ ام العدد ان دشر ان تمزرت

regionis vicorum numerus Sed .hisce-pecuniis-in emit id sibi ,suo-arbitrio-in

اوكل تسعتعش ندشر ادكن ∴ ام امغرنسن من ادكن : اذك ملغ

monstrabo tibi ;sunt duo eorum-reguli Sed .sunt vici 19 Aglui

اسمونسن ∴ و ال ازورن | اسمنس على اعبدل : ام وسن ارس

ei ,secundus sed ;Abdallæ-ó Ali ejus-nomen ,princeps qui Et .eorum-nomina

اتنن عبدل امبارك ∴ والسلام ∴

.Mabareki-ó Abdalla appellant

ام العدد الكش ال الن غتمزرت اكل تلت الف اميتين انص ∴

.dimidium-et 200-et 1000 3 Aglui regione-in οὖσα quæ plebis numerus Sed

ام العدد نتكمنسن | الفين اميتين ان تكم ادرسن الن ∴ الن

Erant ὄντες eos-apud domuum 200-et 2000 ,eorum-domuum numerus Sed

درسن تسع مي استن اويس ∴ ام تمغرن تفرخن دفرخن | ار

non ,pueruli-et puellulæ ,mulieres Sed .equi 60-et 100 9 eos-apud

ديو العدد نسن اغر رب ∴ ام تمزرت اكل تل غك البحر : ال درس

ibi erat :mare supra erat Aglui regio Sed .Dominus nisi eorum numerum ducit

المرس | اكن المرس اتبن سلجير : الن درسن اخرب | ار سرسن

iis-super (et) ,scaphæ eos-apud ὄντες :calce ædificatus portus ἄν ,portus

كشمن سلبحر | ار سرسن كمرن اسلمن ❀

.pisces captabant iis-super ,mare-in intrabant

سكسن ار يوس | كشمن سلبحر | كمرن كس : امل

attamen :ibi piscabantur ,mare-in intraverunt ,diem-unum ad-usque Requieverunt

ار نتمندن يت السفنت | تشكد سدرسن ∴ اوكن ارولند كس |

eâ-ab? fugerunt Deinde .eos-juxta advenit navis una

كسفنت | افغند | فلنتد غلبحر ∴ ام سفنت تبقى غگ لبحر |
,mare supra mansit navis Sed .mari-in eam-reliquerunt ,exierunt ,eam-timuerunt

ارگس تستل ار تزمت يض : -اكن تكشمد سلمرس | ترس گس |
;ibi jacuit ,portum-in intravit deinde :noctis medium ad-usque versata-est ibi

تعلق الشنجقنس ازگغن غخف ان صر : تسگس سفنت ال
quæ navis requievit :mali capite-in rubrum suum-vexillum suspendit

غلمرس | اولغ گس تك خمستعشر يوم ∴ ام ايت -اگل منك كل
omnes coivere Aglui gens Sed .dies 15 præteriit ibi donec ,portu-in

قلس كلتن | يى مزين -اول يى مقرن | ضيض -اول ازل : -اول
vel :luce vel noctes ,maximi sive? vel parvi sive? ,omnino ei-obviam

يسنس | -ارگسن ابق حت ين ∴ انكرن امغرن -اگل | ارن
scripserunt ,Aglui reguli Surrexerunt .unus vel remansit iis-ex non ,eorum-equos

تبرتنس | ازنتنت كل ستمزر يضن : ازرن تيض سد
Sidi-(ad) aliam remiserunt :alias civitates per-omnes-eas remiserunt ,suas-epistolas

هشم | اننس : لبد ادتشكت اردرنغ : ترن كين ار سل گكنغ
nobis-e amplius tu Illud :nos-ad advenies Sanè :ei-dixerunt ,Hisham

تسقست [ ] ادغ تلكمت : ارمين فغند فلغ | امزنغ
nobis-abstulerunt ,nos-contra exierunt Christiani :perventurus-sis nos [quare] interroges

المرس ∴ انكر هشام | اسرف كل ارقسن ستمزر الغ يتحكم :
:regnabat super-quas civitates-per nuntios omnes misit ,Hishamus Surrexit .portum

انبسنت كل غتبرتنسن : لبد ان ددن مگوغ غتمزرت
regione-in occurram vobiscum ut? Necesse-est :eorum-epistolis-in omnibus iis-dixit

-اگل : هتن فغند فلسن ارمين ∴ ام اقبلن ال كل سرسن
eos-in omnes qui tribus Sed .Christiani eos-adversus exierunt illud-ecce :Aglui

قربنِن | مند كل فلسن كلتن ∴ ار غسلغ تند الكم سيد هشام

Hisham Sayyid pervenit eos quo-die omnibus iis-obviam omnes coivere ,propinqui

انيسن : لبد ادس تعلقم الشنجف ازكغن زند نتن اعلقتن ∴

.ea-suspendit ille sicut rubrum vexillum suspendatis ei Necesse-est :iis-dixit

انكرن | علقنس الشنجف ازكغ ∴ ام غسلغ تد درسن ازر |

,vidit eos-apud id quo-die Sed .rubrum vexillum ei-suspenderunt ,Surrexerunt

اكزد غسفنت | اسدد تلغلكتنس | يشكس اردر امسلمن غلبر ∴

.terram-in Moslemos apud ei-advenit ,suam-scapham ascendit ,navi-e descendit

مند كل فلسن امسلمن كلتن ∴ انيسن سيد هشام : حت

Vel :Hisham Sayyidi iis-Dixit .omnes Moslemi iis-obviam omnes Convenere

ين كگن ادر اسول اول اخشن -اورميد : ار درسن نسول |

,loquamur eos-apud (ut) ;huic-Christiano turpem vocem loquatur ne vobis-e quisquam

افكغ لخبر ما يلن غكينس ∴ سولند | اننس : ما يگن

δν Quid :ei-dixerunt ,Locuti-sunt .suo-capite-in δν quid cognitionem nobis-det

المردنك غدرنغ ∴ انيسن -اروم : انر درن | در رب |

,Dominum apud (et) vos-apud Volumus :Christianus iis-Dixit ?nos-apud tua-voluntas

ادغ تفكم لمن غكرغ ددن ∴ انتن اد كل ازورن | اننس :

:ei-dixerunt .processerunt omnes Illi .vobiscum nos-inter sponsionem detis nobis

افكيك رب لمن غدرنغ ∴ انيسن -ارم : اگ المردنو

mea-voluntas Est :Christianus iis-Dixit .nos-apud incolumitatem Dominus tibi-Dedit

اددن زنغ | سغ ددن ∴ انيس الهشم : ال كس الخر كتن ∴

.multa gratia eo-in Erat :Hishamus ei-Dixit .vobiscum emam vendam vobiscum (ut)

انكرن امغرن نتمزر ال -ار كنن علحكم نهشم : مند كل |

omnes Coivere .Hishami provinciâ-in οὖσαι non quæ civitatum reguli Surrexerunt

-اتن الدِيونسن | اننس : اولد -ار سرنغ اِصلح غكر دملى

Mulai-et . . .-inter proba-est nobis non hæc-Vox : ei-dixerunt ,suum-Divan . . . . .

عبدرحمان ∴ اِنيسن هِشام : انكين ايگن بب وولد مشكمكن

hujus-vocis Pater ὢν Egomet : Hishamus iis-Dixit .Abdarahhman

عكري دملى عبد -ارحمان ∴ سولند | اننس : ال كس الخير

gratia eo-in Erat : ei-dixerunt ,sunt-Locuti .Urrahhman Abdu Mulai-et me-inter

اِكتن ∴ ارن فلس سلعدل ۞

.notarium-per eo-de Scripserunt .multa

اِسول الهشم | اِن -ارم : ايو كين | ما يگن المردنك | ات

id (ut) ,tua-voluntas ὢν quid ,tu Heus : Christiano-τῷ dixit ,Hishamus est-Locutus

درنغ تسعت ∴ انيسن -ارم : ادرن سغ الزيت دود

butyrum-et oleum emam vos-apud (Ut) : Christianus-ὁ iis-Dixit ? emas nos-apud

دبردن دِزكران دِزمرن دِفلسن : غبد ادرن رِغ ∴ اِم امسلمن

Moslemi Sed .volo vos-apud res-fere-tot : capones-et oves-et boves-et tritica-et

سلن اِوول غدر -ارم : ارد فلس سمن اِردن دزيت

oleum-et tritica colligunt eum-adversus : Christianum-τὸν apud voci auscultarunt

دزكران : -اول كرس اسن كل ان | ار درس اِسغ ايلغد سل يكر

est-refertus amplius donec ,emit ibi ,dixit omnino iis de-quocunque aut : boves-et

الخير ∴ اِنيسن الشقف : اِد اعمر : تل كس سلعت يضنن :

: alia merx illic erat : impletum-est : navis-magister ? iis-Dixit bonis

لبد ادفتغ ار تِن خوغ غتمزرتنغ | ارد سل اِورغ

redeam amplius (et) : nostrâ-regione in-exponam eas (ut) proficiscar est-Necesse

اردن ∴ اِنيس الهشم : -ار دِدك سكر الخِرد سنك الخطر نيت

populi libitu sine ? hæc-gratia meum-opus ? tecum Non : Hishamus ei-Dixit vos-apud

مزرت | اغر فدمن رتّ دلمن الّ الّن غكرى ددك ∴

tecum me-inter δν quod vadimonium-et Dominum propter nisi ,regionis

انيس الهشم : هى سكرغ سلخطرك : فكغك كلّ ماس اغتنت

dixisti-nobis de-quo omne tibi-dedi : tuum-libitum-ad feci hoc-Ecce : Hishamus ei-Dixit

غتمزرتنغ : او كين اغ تفتت ستمزرت نن | لبد اى

mihi est-necesse ,vestram regionem-in eris-profectus si tu Et (?) nostrâ-regione-in

تسغت غدرن خمسين ننغض دمرو المهرز ∴ انيس ارم الّ

Erat : Christianus-ô ei-Dixit bombardas 10-et tormentorum 50 vos-apud emas

كس الخير اكّتن : هى ردشكغ غلقتد غسكس ∴ انيس

ei-Dixit .anno-τῷ-in hoc-tempore-in adveniam ,hoc-ecce : multa gratia eo-in

الهشم : قضويد غبل سكنغ غدرن اكّا : ام كين كر ترت

velis quidquid tu Sed .tunc ? vos-apud indicavi quotquot mihi-Exequere : Hishamus

غتمزرت امسلمن | انكّن اردك تكف ابدا ∴ ام لخبرد اليك

tibi-quam hæc-notitia Sed .semper dabo ?-id tibi egomet ,Moslemorum regione-in

كلّ غد نغ | احدرسن كلّ الطلبد سيد برهم احمد امست

Messa-e Muhammedi-ó Ibrahim Sayyid doctor omnem iis ?-narravit ,dixi hic omnem

اكّن اسوس ∴ والسلام ۞

.Suso-e est-quæ

الباب الجبار نتمزرت نيت بعمران

Baamurorum gentis regione-de cognitionum Caput

يشكد درسن ين اشقف غخف اسكس : الّ يضنن يشكد اركّ

supra-ad advenit alterum Erat .anni capite-in navigium ? unum eos-apud Advenit

يت تمزرت | ارس تنن افني انتّت تك غتقبلت نيت بعمران : اكّن

Deinde : Baamurorum gentis tribu-in est illa : Ifni appellant ei ,regionem unam

اسرس گس كرض وسن : -اكن يشكد غتلغلكتنس ار ترف البر ار

ad terræ oram ad suâ-scaphâ-in advenit deinde : dies 3 ibi resedit?

سرسن .·. اسول | انيسن | ادرن سغ كر -اغرم تغي دومن وكل

omne-et aquæ-et carnis panis quidquid emam vos-Apud iis-dixit ,est-Locutus .eos-juxta

ما درن رغ انكون .·. امسلمن اونسد اغرم ددلح دكنر

cactos-et melones-et panem ei-tulerunt Moslemi .egomet? velim vos-apud quod

دومن .·. اننس امسلمن : لبد ادغ تغكم سين ككن ادرنغ الن

ὄντας, nos-apud vobis-e duos detis nobis est-Necesse : Moslemi ei-Dixerunt .aquam-et

غلبر افزد اددن انمن ستنوت .·. انيسن : ال گس الخر

gratia eo-in Erat : iis-Dixit .navi-in conveniamus vobiscum est-Necesse? terrâ-in

اكتن .·. اد | يود سين گسن اردر امسلمن غلبر .·. انيسن -ارم :

: Christianus-ὁ iis-Dixit .terrâ-in Moslemos apud iis-ex duos duxit ,Ivit .multa

لبد اي تغكم ين ككن -اول كن .·. فكنس امسلمن اركز

virum Moslemi ei-Dederunt .vos etiam vobis-e unum detis mihi est-Necesse

وحدت يلن غدر -ارم غسفنت .·. نكرن امسلمن | عمرنس

ei-impleverunt ,Moslemi Surrexerunt .navi-in Christianum-τὸν apud ὄντα unum per se

يتلغلكت غلن گس اردر سفنت : دفعنسن الغرشك اليس

ei-quod ...... iis-præbuerunt : navem ad eam-in ascenderunt scapham-unam

اون .·. ام امسلمن غلن سسفنت ايلغ كل ازرن غيل گس

eâ-in quod-eo-ex viderant omne donec navem-in ascenderunt Moslemi Sed .tulerunt

الن .·. اننس لبد ادك نمن اردر ون | ادك د

tecum (ut) ; fontem apud conveniamus tecum (ut) est-Necesse ei-Dixerunt .ὄν

گس نكم امن .·. اشكند ارمين | مند دمسلمن اردر ون

fontem apud Moslemis-cum convenere ,Christiani Advenerunt .aquam hauriamus ibi

آر ڲس تعمرن البرمل سومن ∴ انكرن امسلمن | غلن غتلغلكت

scaphâ-in ascenderunt ,Moslemi Surrexerunt .aquâ cados implerent ibi (ut)

يضنن سدر تنوت | غلنن سخمستعش -اورگز ∴ ام ارمين | النّد ڲسن

iis-ex erant, Christianos Sed .virorum quindecim-per ascendentes ,navem ad aliâ

سن غدر امسلمن : ام سمس ڲسن منّد دمسلمن ادسنن اڲمن

haurirent scirent (ut) Moslemis-cum unà-ivere iis-ex quinque sed ; Moslemos apud duo

امن : ام سفنت | -ارن ڲس الّ اغر گز ڲسن ∴ غلند امسلمن

Moslemi Ascenderunt .iis-ex quatuor nisi erat eâ-in non ,navem Sed .aquam

اردر سفنت : انيسن -ارم : -ارد تغلم سسفنت ار د شكن ايت

gens advenerit donec navem-in ascendatis Ne ; Christianus-ô iis-dixit ; navem ad

متنغ ... [*l.* 4 below] ... غدر ومن ∴ اننسن امسلمن : لبد ان

ut? est-Necesse : Moslemi iis-Dixerunt .aquam ad [exierunt quotquot] nostra

قلون نغل سبزز ∴ غلنن اردسن ∴ -اكن يتن -ارم

Christianus feriens Deinde .eos-ad Ascend*ebant?* .rapinam-per ascendamus vos-contra

سلبرد : -اكن انغ ين ڲسن : -اكن امغن ددس ايلغن

donec eo-cum pugnaverunt deinde : iis-ex unum occidit deinde : nitrato-pulvere

قلس غلن سبزز | انغن ڲسن امسلمن سن ڲسن : ام سن

duos sed : iis-ex duos Moslemi iis-ex occiderunt ,rapinam-per ascenderunt eum-contra

يضنن | امزن تند | اون تند سلبر غدر ايت متسن الد ادل

heri qui ipsorum gentem ad terram-in eos duxerunt ,eos ceperunt alteros

فغنن ادسنن اڲمن امن : امزنتن كل امسلمن كلتن ∴

.cunctos Moslemi omnino eos-ceperunt : aquam haurirent scirent (ut) exeuntes

ام ابحرين امسلمن غلن غتلغلكت نسن ايلغ الڲمن در سفنت |

; navem ad pervenerunt donec suam scapham-in ascenderunt Moslemi nautae Sed

قلعنس المخطف | ار تد تجبدن ستلفلكت ار البر |

,terram ad-usque scapham-per remigarunt eam ,anchoram ei-extraxerunt

ازنزت ميتين مدقل اتمنين امسلمن يضنين ∴ ام ارمين |

,Christianos Sed .aliis Moslemis 80-et siclis 200 eam-vendiderunt

ازنزنتن كلتن | فرقنتن ك افيلن ∴ ام لخبر نسن

eorum nuntii ? Sed .tribus secundum ? eos-distribuerunt ,omnes-eos vendiderunt

الكمن تمزر يضنين ايلغ الكمن تصرت ∴ انكرن التجار

negotiatores Surrexerunt .Tassuram pervenerunt donec ,alias regiones pervenerunt

نتصرت | سرفن سرمن امدكل نسن | فكنسن تمنيت | اننس :

:iis-dixerunt ,*μνᾶς* iis-dederunt ,suos amicos eos-in miserunt ,Tassuræ

لبد اتفتم ار تمزرت نيت بعمران | ادغد كس تسغم

coematis ibi nobis (ut) ,Baamruorum gentis regionem ad proficiscamini est-Necesse

ارمين الن كس الن كلتن : ان كسن ار تفلم حت ين كسن |

,iis-ex unum vel relinquatis non iis-ex ut? .omnes *ὄντες* ibi qui Christianos

ام اتك نسن يكتيت نت انغ ادرس ∴ ام امسلمند | امدكل

amici ,hi-Moslemi Sed .paullum aut ,etiam sit-multum eorum pretium sed

ان تجار | ار افتن ار تمزرت نيت بعمران : ادن ار

ad Processerunt .Baamruorum gentis regionem ad sunt-profecti ,negotiatorum

تكم امغر الن كل اتحكم غتمزرت نيت بعمران كلت : لعن

sunt-Affati .cunctæ Baamruorum gentis regione-in regnat omnino qui reguli domum

قلس العار | اننس : انكن نر درك نر رب |

,Dominum apud (et) te-apud volumus Nos :ei-Dixerunt reverentiam eo-coram

ادنغ تبدت | ارد اغتسغت ارمين الن مزن امسلمن غد ∴

.hic Moslemi ceperunt quos Christianos coemas-nobis donec stes nobiscum (ut)

انيسن : الّ گس الخر اگتن : مرحب بكم .·. انكر انتن |
,ille Surrexit .vobis Quies : multa gratia eo-in Erat : iis-Dixit

ارسف سمسلمن | الّ درسن لّن ارمين | ارس تند سمن
colligerent eos ei (ut) ,Christiani-ol erant eos-apud quos ,Moslemos-ad mittit

ايلغ اسد اون سيرمين .·. بقن گسن كرض ارگزن : سن گسن
iis-ex duo : homines tres iis-ex Restabant .Christianos-7 duxerant ei donec

الن غتمزرت نيت ببكر غدر -امغر نسن | ارس اتين امغر عبدل
Abdalla regulus ,appellant ei ,eorum regulum ˙apud Bubker gentis regione-in erant

-ابكر : وسكرض | الّ گسن مزين | الّن غدر -امغر نيت -اكل .·.
.Aglui gentis regulum apud ŝ ,parvus iis-ex qui ,tertius : Bubker-e

انيسن : انك -اردون ازنزغ ودّ : اعزّ در زند ين غترونو .·.
.meâ-prole-e unius instar me-apud est-carus : hunoce vendo vobis-non Ego : iis-Dixit

انيس : رغ اتورت | اتلت غدّن امسلمن .·. انيس : الّ گس
ibi Erat : ei-Dixit .Moslemorum fide-in sis (et) ,convertaris volui : ei-Dixit

الخر اگتن .·. يورّ | اگ مسلم .·. امّ غسلغ يورّ | اگ
devenit (et) convertitur quo-die Sed .Moslemus devenit, Convertitur .multa gratia

امسلم | اغرس فلّس ازگر | اسكرس تمغر | اسكرس اسمنس
ejus-nomen ei-fecit ,epulum ei-fecit ,bovem eum-propter mactavit ? Moslemus

محمد .·. انكر -امغر | اسرف كلّ بتقبلتنس كلّتن : انيسن :
: iis-dixit : cunctum suum-tribum-in omnino misit ,regulus-ò Surrexit. Muhammad

اشكد كلّ سدر : هيّ ارسكرغ تمغر .·. امّ امسلمن مند
convenere Moslemi Sed .epulum facio ,hoc-Ecce : me-apud omnes Advenite

كلّ درس | ار فلّس تلعبن ايسن درم سلبرود .·. امّ
Sed pulvere-nitrato jactum-et equos luderent ei-obviam (ut) ,eum-apud omnes

انتن اسدنت فيس -امغر | ار تلعبن امسلمن

Moslemi Indunt ;reguli τοῦ equum-τὸν-in eum-imposuerunt ,illum

غلگدمنس اردر الزوت نسن | ضهرنسد گس سلختم دستت

disciplinâ-et annulo? ibi ei-circumciderunt ,ipsorum Moskulam ad-usque ejus-frontibus-in

ان سيدن ابرهم خليل -الرحمان ∴ انيسن -امغر ال

quem regulus-ὁ iis-Dixit .Urrahhman Khalilu Ibrahim nostri-magistri

نبدر : سدقغس الرب غويدنو دسمگ توى كلتن ∴

ambo ancillam servum-et mei-τοῦ-ἐκ quartam ei-Donavi :memoravimus

انيسن : كفعت اتمزگد | اگس يقم : نت ديوس : الن غيت

unâ-in Erant .ejus-filio-cum ille ";sedeat ibi-ut ,Moskæ eum-Dedi" .iis-Dixit

البت وحدتن ∴ ام الطعم ال شتن | ارسن تد اتزن ببتسن

eorum-Pater remit*tens*? eum iis ,vescebantur quo cibum Sed .se-per-soli camerâ

ال نبدر ∴ ام نتن | افكيس رب الفهم | احفض كل القران

Koranum totum servavit ,ingenium DOMINUS ei-dedit ,illum Sed .memoravimus quem

العظيم كلت ∴ ام امسلن -اوريس كل تنن اغر سيد

Sayyidi nisi appellant quidquam ei-non Moslemi Sed .ejus-totum ,excellens

محمد -اعلي ﷺ

.Ali-τοῦ-ὁ Muhammed

نورد سوول يضنن امسلمن ال الن غدر -امغر نيت

gentis regulum apud *ὄντες* qui Moslemis alium sermonem-per Revertimur

بعمران ∴ -ارسن اجحد اغر سيرمين : سغنتن در -امغر

regulum apud eos-Emerunt .Christiani-septem nisi erat-promtu-in iis-Non .Baamruorum

ال نبدر سمينص اين گسن ∴ اسرف تند دمدكلنس غتمزرت

regione-e ejus-amicis-cum eos Misit iis-ex uni 150-per memoravimus quem

ستيض ايلغ الكمن تصرت غدر التجر ∴ اننسن
iis-Dixerunt negotiatores-τοὺς apud Tassuram pervenerunt donec alteram-in

تجر : منز غول يضنن : وجبنسن | اننسن : مين كسن
iis-ex Duo : iis-dixerunt ,iis-Responderunt ? reliqui quotquot Ubi : negotiatores-οἱ

الن غدر -امغر نيت ببكر [يوك] * -اورن ادغ تن زنز :
: vendat eos nobis (ut) ait-non [negavit ?] Bubkr gentis regulum apud erant

وسكرض ال غدر -امغر نيت -اكل : سن يضنن كسن امتن غلبحر |
mari-in sunt-mortui iis-ex alii duo : Aglui gentis regulum apud erat tertius

غسلغ تن اغدر امسلمن ∴ ام غولن لكمن تسرت | فكنسن
iis-dederunt ,Tassuram pervenientes quotquot Sed .Moslemi decepit eos quo-die

اتجار الكست | كرنسن اسفنت ∴ غلن كس | ادن
iverunt ,eam-in Ascenderunt .navem iis-conduxerunt ,vestem negotiatores

ستمزرتنسن غلبر ارمين ∴ والسلام ✿
.Christianorum terrâ-in suam-regionem-in

الباب الخبار ان تمزرت ان تزنيت
Teznise regione de cognitionum Caput

تك زند المدنت : اضورس كل السر كلت ∴ -ار درس اغر
nisi eam-apud Non .omnino murus omni ei-circumdatus-est : urbis instar erat-Ea

سليبن ∴ ام امنس | الن غترمتنس العين ∴ ام القسبت الخزن
ærarii ? arx Sed .fons ejus-medio-in ἐν ,ejus-aquam Sed. portæ-duo?

ابنت امس | ايك العن | غمس نترمت نتمزرت : تبن كل سلجر
calce-e omnis structa-est : regionis medium intra ,fontem supra ,intus structa-est

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* A line and a half is by accident repeated in the MS.; but with the variation, that يوك is replaced by -اورن.

دزر ·المجر درخام دلخ | كل البر ايرمين ∴ ارگس

Ibi Christianorum terrâ-e omnibus ,tabulis-et marmore-et fabrorum saxo?-et

اتزدغ ·الخلفت ·اغلد غليم ملى سلمان ∴ ام غسلغ مت

est-mortuus quo-die Sed .Suliman Mulai diebus-in Imperatoris vicarius habitat

ملى سلمان | انكرن ايت تزنت | دحند الخلفت نس | مند

coiverunt ejus vicarium expulerunt? ,Teznise gens surrexerunt ,Suliman Mulai

كلتن فلقسبت | مزين ·اول مقر | خلنت كلت : ·ار گس فلن

reliquerunt ibi non : totam diruerunt (et) ,magnus aut parvi ,arcem-contra omnes

حت ين تزف : سمن كل ازرنس دلحنس تكسنس دلبنس

ejus-portas-et ejus-. . . . ejus-tabulas-et ejus-saxa? omnia colleg*erunt* : oram unam vel

كلتن : بنن سرسن تمزگد غترمت القسبت | امس ايگ العين الِ

quem fontis caput circa ,arcis medio-in Moskam ea-*per* struxerunt : omnes

نبدر ∴ ام السعت الغد يور ملى عبد الرحمان (انصرت

eum-juvet) Errahhman Abd Mulai reversus-est in-quâ hora Sed .memoravimus

الرب دمسلمن) اگ اگلد : ارتزن الخليفنس سمزار

regiones-ad suos-vicarios remittere-debens : Imperator devenit (Moslemis-cum Dominus

دلدين كلتنت | يزند الخلفتنس (اگت القيد الطهر بن مسعود الادى)

(Udensis Masûd Ben Attahr Prætor is?-erat) suum-vicarium remisit ,omnes urbes-et

سدر ايت تزنت ∴ افكس تلت مى تخيل ∴ غسلغن لكم

pervenit ille?-quo-Die .equites centum ter ei-Dedit .Teznise gentem ad

تزنت | اگز گس كرض وسن | ارس اكن الطعم تمزن ∴

.hordeum-(et) cibum dent ei (ut) ,dies tres ibi commoratus-est ,Tezniam

ايلغ درسن اگ كرض وسن | اسرف سرسن كلتن | انيسن : اشكد

Advenite : iis-dixit ,omnes eos-ad misit ,dies tres præteriit eos-apud Quando

اردر افلون صغرغ تبرت -اوكلد .·. انكرن ايت زنت |
,Teznisæ gens Surrexerunt .Imperatoris epistolam legam vobis-coram-ut ,me-ad

مند كلتن يى مزين -اول يى مقرن | اشكند اردر القيد الِ
quem Prætorem ad advenerunt ,grandes sint ? aut parvi sint ? ,omnes convenere

نبدر | سكسن درس : ار فلسن يغر تبرت -اوكلد .·.
.Imperatoris epistolam legit iis-coram : eum-apud consederunt ,memoravimus

انيسن : لبد اك كشمغ ستمزرت | اكس زدغ غلقسبت -اوكلد .·.
.Imperatoris arce-in habitem ibi urbem ?-in intrem (ut) Necesse : iis-Dixit

انيس نتن : -اهول | سر كلب دغرسنك اردر -اوكلدنك .·. انيس :
: ei-dic .tuum-Imperatorem ad tuam-viam revertere Vade ;Minime ! : illi ei-Dixit

انكن -ار فلغ تكت اكلد : ام القسبتنك تخلت كل | انبن
struximus : omnis est-diruta tua-arx sed : Imperator eris nos-super non Nos

كس تمزكد مقرن غترمت نتمزرتنغ .·. انكر -اكلد ملى غبد
Abd Mulai Imperator Surrexit .nostræ-civitatis ? medio-in ingentem Moskam ibi

رحان | اسرفد سرسن يوس سيد محمد | انت دلقيد
Prætorem-et illum-nempe ,Muhammed Sayyid ejus-filium eos-in misit ,Rahhman

انطهر : افكسند ستعر الف -اويس .·. ام اترنيت | الكمن تن
eos pervenerunt ,Teznisæ-gentem Sed .equorum millia decim-sex iis-dedit : Attahr

لخبر المحلت -اكلد | اسد سرسن | تشك تمند ديوس :
: ejus filio-cum convenit ,appropinquat eos-in quòd ? Imperatoris exercitûs notitiæ

انتن ايكن المقدمنس فلسن .·. تشكد المحلتد اليك
tibi-quem hic-exercitus Advenit .eos-adversus ejus-anterior-pars &c ,eum-ad-quod

بدرغ | ار ترمت نتمزرت -اوشتكن : تكز كس غتمزرت نتبحنيكت
Tebuhoneikt regione-in ibi Desiliit .Ashtukorum regionis medium ad ,memoravi

تقربن سوسف -الغس ∴ الّ غكرس تزنيت يوس -اوغرس ∴

.itineris dies-unus Tezniam (et) eam-inter Erat .Alghasi flumen-ad prope

ام ايت زنيت كسضن كس | ار سرفن ارقسن اس تمزر يضنين |

,alias civitates per legatos mittunt ,eo-ex timuerunt Tezniæ gens Sed

اننسن : اشكد اردرنغ : ام يوس -اكلد يشكد قلغ :

; nos-adversus advenit Imperatoris filius cæterum ; nos-ad Advenite : iis-dixerunt

انيغ : لا بد ادغ تبنيم لقسبتنغ غوير -اوضن : ام

sed : noctium mense-in nostram-arcem ædificetis nobis (ut) Necesse : nobis-dixit

اغتر تبنيم غوير -اوضن | غلغن سرن | ارزمغ كگن اسبيل |

,semitam vos-in patefaciam ,vos-in cadam ,noctium mense-in ædificatis non-eam-si

خلغ تمزرت نن ∴ ام اقبيلن الس كل -ازن ايت

gens circumdati-sunt cunctos per-quos tribus Sed .vestram regionem vastabo

زنيت | منذ كل درسن كلنن : الين كس ايت بعمران | الين

ibi ,Baamruorum gens ibi ibi? : omnes eos-apud omnes convenere ,Tezniæ

كس ايت ودنن | ايبدررن كلتن : ايلغ د قلسن امن

convenit iis-obviam donec .omnes montani (et) Nun-fluminis gens ibi

بندم اگتن فلمحلت -اوكلد ∴ ام يوس -اوكلد اگور

consedit Imperatoris filius Sed .Imperatoris exercitum-contra multi Adami-filii

غتبحنيكت تنين -اغشرن يوم : انكر كس ازكرن د وسف -اولغس |

,Aighasi flumen transiens ? inde Surrexit .dies viginti-et duo Tebuhoneika-in

افت ار ترف نتزنيت | اگز كس | ارزم قلسن المحلت :

aciem eos-adversus patefecit ,ibi desiliit ,Tezniæ oram ad profectus-est

تغر كسن | ايلغ كل تستل اتزنيت ∴ انكرن ايت زنيت |

Teznitæ Surrexerunt .Tezniæ est-circumfusa omnis donec eos-in excucurrit?-ea

فغند سرس | امغن ددس | ايلغ الكمنت تودش : انبضن |
: se-diviserunt advenerunt donec ,eâ-cum pugnaverunt ,eam-in exierunt

سكسن | ايلغ د اغل الفجر انصح : انكرن سرس | مغن ددس |
eâ-cum pugnabant ,eam-in surrexerunt : diluculi Lucifer occidit donec ,requieverunt

ايلغ اغل وس : ارزن تد | ايلغ د ازكر د وسف -اولغس ∴ انغ
Necavit .Alghasi flumen transiit donec ,eam fregerunt : dies occidit donec

كسن يوس -اوكلد سبع -اتمنين اركز د خمسو تلتين -اويس ∴
.equorum triginta et-quinque et viros octoginta-et septem Imperatoris filius iis-ex

ام المحلت -اوكلد | امت كس بندم اكتن | يورد دغرسنس
suum-iter-per est-reversus ;multi Adami-filii ibi est-mortuus ,Imperatoris exercitum Sed

ار دزكز | ايلغ دلكم مركش ∴ والسلام ۞
.Marragusham pervenit donec, ad

الباب الخبار نتمزرت ان تكركست ∴
Tegargusse regione-de notitiarum Caput

تك اغر يتمز وحدت | تل -اغفل ان رس لواد
fluminis caput supra est (quæ) se-per-sola . . . . .-una nisi ? Est (Non?)

نسوس : الا غكرس ددس تردنت اس دزكن -اوغرس ∴ ام
Sed .itineris dimidium-et dies Tarudana eâ-cum eam-inter Erat .Susi

تقبلت ان تكركست | العدد ندشر نسن كرن تلتعش : ام
Sed .tredecim erant eorum vicorum numerus ,Tegargusse tribuum

العداد الكش نسن | ار تنن مدن | اك الفين -انص انغ
aut dimidium-et duo-millia erat ,viros appellant (quos) eorum plebis numerus

-اكر : ام العدد ان تكم نسن الف واحد -اميتين ∴ الن
Ar (=Sunt) .ducenti-et unus mille eorum domuum numerus Sed .amplius

درسن كرض امغرن | بضن فكرت ول : ارنقــ كر كسن كر

quemvis iis-ex quivis interficit : vicibus tribus dividunt (qui) ,reguli tres eos-apud

ابدا ∴ تلّ العدوت اكّتن غكرتسن ∴ امّ افرخ اغ درس الّ

esset eum-apud si puer Sed .eos-inter multa inimicitia Erat .semper

ارد يزم | اسغس ببس المكحلتنس دلكمتنس ∴ امّ اسقــ الّ

erat macellum Sed .ejus-acinacem-et ejus-scloppum ejus-Pater ei-emit ,jejunaturus

غترمت يتمزرت نسن : [-ار كلّ سرس تدّن ول يان] -ار سرس

eum-ad non [unus quidem-ne eunt eum-ad omnino non] ;eorum regionis medio-in

افت حتّ يان كسن غركزن مقرنن | اغر اغ يسّ المكحلتنس

ejus-scloppus venit si nisi ,adultis viris-ex iis-ex unus vel profectus-est

ددس دلكمتنس ∴ امّ امغرن اسكرن غكرتسن كز يرن ايرن

uni menses quatuor se-inter faciunt reguli Sed .ejus-acinaces-et eo-cum

كسن | ارتحكم اغ اسقــ : و انمّ كسن ادكــ السّقــ غكز

4-in macellum rexit? iis-ex quisquis? Et? .macello in judicet (ut) ,iis-ex

يرنس | ار يقرم اينّ كس اتشن | افك اديت -اونّ

quisquis-του ποιηρ dat ,sunt-corrupta ibi quæcunque amputat ,ejus-mensibus

كس امتنن غسقــ ∴ [*] انيسن : -اردون ت فكغ : سمقلت

circumspicite : dabo id vobis-Non : iis-Dixit .macello-in morientes ibi

سونّ تين نغن : افكون اتكــ نسن ∴ اننس امغرن

reguli ei-Dixerunt .eorum pretium vobis-dedit : occidens eos quisquis-de

نيضنن : كين ار سرس اسمقل انغ تغكت غلملنك ∴ انيسن

iis-Dixit .tuâ-re-e dedisti aut ,respectum id-ad adverte (ipse) Tu : cæterorum

نتّن : -اردون فكغ يت ابدا ∴ غكد ادسكرن | ارد مغن

pugnant *donec* ,faciunt modo-Isto .unquam quidquam dabo vobis-Non : Ille

ملبرد | ارفت كر كسن سكر ضبض | يكرسد ازكرنس
ejus-boves sibi?-furatur ,noctes quemvis-in iis-ex quivis proficiscitur ,nitrato-pulvere

نغ ايسنس | نغ تين انغ ∴ نتنت آرسن سكرن غون | يضنين
alii ,hoc-modo faciunt iis id-Hi? .occidit eos aut ,ejus-equos aut

غكن ∴ ام ازل ارن تكن اعسسن ادبيسن ∴ غكد ادسكرن
faciunt Sic .equitibus-cum custodes deveniunt lucem-per Sed ,illo-modo

اسكس انغ سين ارد اغل بنصر غتمزرتنس | ارستر فتمزر
,civitates-super inspicit ,ejus-regionem-in Bennaser cadit donec duo aut annum

الم يل اشر غكرس د ويض | اد درسن | ارتن اصلح | اد
obit ,pacificat eos ,eos-per obit ,alteram et eam-inter malum foret quidquid?

سدر ويض يضنين ∴ ام يوس ان بنصر سد ببكر يشكد ار
ad advenit Bubker Sidi Bennaseri filius Sed .alios alium ad

تمزرت نتكرگست | اگز درسن غتزمت ان تمزرت نسن :
: eorum regionis medio-in eos-apud desilit ,Tegargusse regionem

اگز كس انت دمدكلنس | ارد فلس اتمن اگرمن ان تمزر
regionum sancti conveniunt ei-obviam *donec?* ,ejus-socii-et ipse ,ibi commoratur

الد سرسن قربنن اول ايمغر نسن دنمغرن ان تمزار | ارد
donec? ,regionum senatores?-et eorum reguli aut propinquæ iis (sunt) quæ

فلس تمن غدر -اگرم بنصر ال نبدر ∴ اصرف امدگلنس
suos-socios Mittit .memoravimus quem Bennaser sanctum apud conveniunt ei-obviam

سيت ـ گرگست ∴ انيسن : مند كلكن كرى مزين
parvi quicunque vestrum-omnes Convenite : iis-Dicit .Tegargusse gentem-ad

-اول كرى مقرن ∴ اننسن اگرمن : ادون سكر الصلح غكرتن ∴
.vos-inter pax fiat Vobis : sancti iis-Dixerunt .grandes quicunque aut

اِسولد كر كِسن | اِنبسن : -ار دِدسن انصلح | اردغ
nobis-donec ,pacificabimus iis-cum Non : iis-dixit ,iis-ex aliquis est-Locutus

كفن دِيت نيتمتنغ الِّ كِّنغ انغن : انسكر دِدسن
iis-cum faciamus (ut) ;occiderunt nobis-e quos nostrorum-fratrum pretium satisfaciunt

اَلصلح ∴ اننسن اكرمن : مد تنم كن غديت نيتمتسن
eorum-fratrum pretio-in vos dicitis Quid : sancti iis-Dixerunt .pacem

نغود ∴ وجبنسند غولِ يضنِن | اننسن : نكن -ار ننغ
occidimus non Nos : iis-dixerunt ,reliqui quotquot? iis-Responderunt .tanti

ايتمتسن نغود ∴ اننسن اِكرمن : ادسن تكلم غلمصحف
codicem-per juretis Iis : sancti iis-Dixerunt .tanti eorum-fratres

اَلكريم ∴ اننسن : ادسن نكل امكسن ننغ ايتمتسن ∴ اِم
Sed .eorum-fratres occidimus iis-*non?* juramus Iis ; iis-Dixerunt .benignum

اِمغرن نتمزر الِّ يضنِن | الِّ درسن اشكنن | نتن دِكرمن
sancti-et illi ,advenientes eos-ad qui ,reliquæ quæ civitatum reguli

اننسن : لبد اتزرم الملد الِّ تحملم فيتمتن
vestris-fratribus-super vultis quam hanc-pecuniam prætereatis? est-Necesse : iis-dixerunt

عودمونغ دودمون اِكرمن ∴ اننسن ايت كركست : اكد
Execret? : Tegargussæ gens iis-Dixerunt sanctis coram-et nobis-coram

رب غتلغتنس : الملد | -اقنت درنغ ودمونن دودم
os-et vestra-ora nos-apud id-invenerunt ,hanc-pecuniam *ejus?*-nummos Dominus

نبنصر دودمون اِكرمند الِّ دِدس النِّ ∴ اِنبسن يوس نبنصر :
: Bennaseri filius iis-Dixit .ὄντες eo-cum qui ,sanctorum ora-et Bennaseri

هيّ سكرغون غكرتن اَلصلح : ونّ كِّكن اِرزن الهن يد
hanc quietem frangens vobis-e quisquis : pacem vos-inter vobis-feci ,hoc-Ecce

البون سكرع غگرتن | اورلم اغر سگينس : نضلب ارب | اد
(ut) ,Domino precamur :suum-caput-in nisi accusavit-non ,vos-inter feci vobis-quod

قلس الزكز الصخط تدلت زند -اديي : اغلب قلس
eum-adversus prævaleat : Judæorum velut probrum?-(et) spurcities? descendat eum-super

انگنس ابدا ∴ اننسن امغرن نتمزر الّ درسن اشكنن :
: advenientes eos-apud qui civitatum reguli iis-Dixerunt .semper ejus-index

هيغ نحضرون ايلغ اون سكر اگرمن الصلح -الله ∴ اون
Quisquis .Dei pacem sancti fecerunt? vobis quando? vobis-adfuimus nos-Ecce

گكن افكسن لعملد | ارد قلس نمن | ادغ افك القين
duo-millia det nobis-(ut) ,coibimus eum-contra ,hec-opus frangens vobis-e

المان انغ كل نحرگ تمزرتنس | انخلت كل | انغ ادس
eo-cum aut ,omne vastabimus ,ejus-regionem cremabimus omnino aut vadimonium

نتمغ ابدا | اردغ انر انغ ت ننر : والسلام ∴ انيسن
iis-Dixit .superemus eum aut superet nos-donec? ,semper pugnemus

يوس ان بنصر | دگرمن كلتن الّ گس | الخر اگتن ✿
.multam gratiam ,ibi qui omnes sancti-et ,Bennaseri filius

ءا غكد ايسكر يوس ان بنصر غتمزر ان سس كلتن اركغ
donec? omnibus Susi regionibus-in Bennaseri filius facit sic Ecce

الكم تمزرتنس ∴ والسلم ✿
.suam-regionem (ad) pervenit

الباب الخبار المكحل دسككن ∴
cultrorum-et sclopporum notitiarum Caput

كنتن ارد تنغن غلمدنت -اوگردر غلحكم نسيد محمد
Muhammed domini provinciâ-in Agadiri urbe-in exponunt

بن عبد الله ارد كس تغغن المكحل دسككن دلكمم
gladios-et cultros-et · scloppos exponunt ibi Abdullah Ben

دلبرود انكلز | ار كل م يبدر ام غسلعت
mercibus-in (hominis) os memorat quod omne aut? ,Anglicum pulverem-nitratum-et

ان برّ انصر ∴ امّ المدنت الّ نبدر اكدر | تلّ كس
ibi erat ,Agadir memoravimus quam urbem Sed .Christian*arum*? terrarum?

المرس | ارد كس تغغن السغين ارمين ∴ اسرفد سرس سيد
Sidi eò Misit .Christianorum naves (merces) exponunt ibi ,portus

محمد بن عبد الله الخلفتنس | ارس تنن الطلب صلح ∴
.Salah Ettalb appellant ei ,suum-vicarium Abdullah Ben Muhammed

اك كس العمل غلمدنت اكدر | اركس اتحكم ايلغ كس اسمن
colligat ibi donec regat ibi ,Agadiri urbe-in negotium ibi Erat

المل اكتن ∴ امّ المكحل الد تغعنن غلمكمنس | سمن
nominabant ,ejus-provinciâ-in exponebant quos scloppos Sed .multam pecuniam

تن فلس : اور ايسن تنن اغر سكت ان طلب صلح ∴
.Salah Talebi monetam nisi appellant iis non :eum-secundum eos

امّ القيد الّ نبدر | اكتن افغ اغرس فكلدنس : ار
non suum-Imperatorem-in iter exiit percutiens ,memoravimus quem Prætor Sed

ايسد سل اسرف تمنيت اولر دس سل اتمشور غوولنس ∴
.ejus-negotiis-in consultabat amplius eo-cum neque? pecunias misit amplius ei

د سرس اسرف اكلد | انيس : سكر اولد درمين انغ
aut Christianis cum-hoc-negotium Fac :ei-dixit ,Imperator mittit eum-Ad

امسلمن انغ الغيرنسن : اسرف سرس انتن انيس : [ار سرك
:ei-dixit ille? eum-ad Misit .illi-quàm-aliis aut Moslemis

اَرّضِغ -الَ رِضِغَک سلغير نک] : -ار سَرّک اَرّضِع کِیّ [-اولَ
aut ;tu (o) *εὐδόκησα* to-in Non

لَغير نک] : -ارد سکرغ اَغَر اَولَنو اَغّد : اِمّ اَيت سُوس
Susi gens sed .hic meum-negotium nisi facio non ego præterquam

الّي کلّ غَد افسِنو : اِمّ الغرب فلغکت کلّ اَوت .·. اِمّ
Sed .ejus? omnem id-tibi-reliqui occidentem sed ;meam-manum sub omnes erant

اَکّلِد الّ نبدر کَم سِد محمد بَن عند-الله | اَر
,Abdullah Ben Muhammed Sidi nempe? memoravimus quem Imperator

فَلّس يکّ المال اِکّتن : اَر سرس اِسرف ارکزن | انتِن
illos ,viros mittit eum-in ;multam pecuniam dat eum-adversus

دِمدکلنسن .·. اَر دِدس کتّن الدّون | ايلغ تمزن |
,ceperunt-eum donec ,Consilium-*Imperatoris* confligunt eo-Cum .ipsorum-socios-et

کِن . فَلّس الکبل دسلسلت | کِن تن غلحبس | انتّن
illum ,carcer-in eos posuerunt ,catenam-et compedem eum-super posuerunt

دِمدکلنس .·. اِمّ امدکل -اوکلد سرفند اولنسن سدر -اکلد |
,Imperatorem ad suam-vocem miserunt Imperatoris socii Sed .ejus-socios-et

اَنّس : هَبّغ نمزک اَلخلفتنک (الطّلب صَلح الّ نبدر)
(memoravimus quem Salah Ettaleb) ,tuum-vicarium tibi-cepimus nos-Ecce : ei-dixerunt

انتّ دِمدکلنس .·. اِرد فلسن الوجب | انّبسن : سکرتس الشّشت
pileum ei-Facite :iis-dixit ,responsum iis Reddidit? .ejus-socios-et illum

-اوزل دقشب -اوزل : اِمّ الطّلب | -ادس -ار تکم اغر تنکلت
panis-placentam nisi dabitis non ei ,Ettalebum Sed .ferri robur?-et ferri

اِوس اَبدا .·. اِسرفد سرسن تبرتنس | انّيسن : اِمّ السّلعت اَن
illas merces Sed ;iis-dixit ,suam-epistolam eos-ad Misit .semper quotidie

الِّ غِنّ الّن كلّتن | -اسقّت ستّد كلّ غِسفين اِرمين | اَد تِورّ

redeat (et) ,Christianorum naves-in omne id? congerite ,omnes erant illic? quæ

ستصرت -انكس : -ار تقلّم حتّ مي .·. كلّت غمكحل

scloppis-in id-Omne ,quidquam vel linquatis ne :ejus-index Tassuram-ad

السككن دلبرود دلكبريت دلملف دلكتان -ال كر نغن اتنغن |

,exponunt illic? quidquid aut linteo-et gossipino?-et sulphure-et pulvere-et cultris

يورد وول ستصرت | اد كس اتفغ كريك غد بدرغ | ابدا |

,semper ,memoravi hic tibi-quidquid exponatur ibi (ut) ,Tassuram-ad ratio? rediit

يلغ امتّ -اكلّد اليك بدرغ ۞

.memoravi tibi-quem Imperator est-mortuus donec

يورد سد ملى اسلمن | اگ اكلّد : تبنّ تصرت غكلّ نت

plane sicut Tassuram exædificavit :Imperator devenit, Suliman Mulai Sidi Rediit

سل تك .·. ازيد فلس ملى سلمن | انّ ايرمين : لبد

est-Necesse :Christianis dixit ,Suliman Mulai id-super Addidit .est adhuc

ايتسرفم انكّ لنفض دلمهرز دلبرود .·. ادون افكغ نك غدر

me-apud ego dabo Vobis .pulverem-et bombardas-et tormenta mihi mittatis-mihi

اردن دزيت | تضت -اول كر ترت غلمرضنك | نفكونت .·.

.id-vobis-dedimus ,tuâ-arbitrio-ex vis quidquid aut ,lanam ,oleum-et tritica

اننس ارمين : الّ كس الخر اكتّي : هبغ نرد نورّ اردرك

te-apud redeamus voluimus nos-ecce :multa gratia eo-in Erat :Christiani ei-Dixerunt

سوولنغ .·. اورند | اونسد لنفض دلمهرز دلبرود | -اول

aut ,pulverem-et bombardas-et tormenta ei-tulerunt ,Redierunt .nostris-negotiis?-de

كر يسن انّ .·. انكر انتّي | ادفعيسن تضت ديردن دزيت

oleum-et tritica-et lanam iis-præstitit ,ille Surrexit .dixit iis quidquid

اولَ كَر دَرس رَن ۞ انكَرن سَرس العلم اِمسلمن |

Moslemorum Docti eum-in Surrexerunt .voluerunt eum-apud quidquid aut

اننس : -ارك اسكر الشرع : اتكفت تضت ديردن دزيت

oleum-et tritica-et lanam praebes ? : Lex ? perficitur tibi-Non : ei-dixerunt

ايرمين : كَين اَر تسضعف اِمسلمن ∴ اوجبسن | انبسن : لبد

est-Necesse : iis-dixit ,iis-Respondit .Moslemos debilitas Tu : Christianis

اَت نضيع اَسكس نغ سِن نغ كرض | اَرديفكن اِرمين لنفض

tormenta Christiani dent-mihi-*donec?* ,tres aut duo aut annum perdamus id

دلمهرز دلبرود -اول كر الن غلمردن غدرسن ∴ رغ اتن

ea Volo .eos-apud mea-voluntate-e ὅν quidquid aut ,pulverem-et bombardas-et

كغ غلمدين الّ اِلّن غك البحر | اسرس تمغن درمين |

,Christianis-cum pugnent id-per? (ut) mare ,supra *οὖσαι* quae urbibus-in ponam

اَس نغ د سرسن -اشكن ۞

.adveniunt eos-in in-quo die

اِمّ تصرت | تلّ كس ميّ -انص النفض : الن كس اربعين

40 ibi Erant : tormentorum dimidium-et centum ibi erat ,Tassuram Sed

المهرز | غيد اَكس الن كلّت غلحكم نسد محمد بن

Ben Muhammed domini imperio-sub omnis ὅν ibi tot : bombardae

عبد -الله | الّت بنن ∴ ازيد فلس ملى سلمن : انتن

ille ; Suliman Mulai id-super Addidit .aedificans eam-qui Abdullah

استكملن كلّت : (اترحم ربّ | اغفرس : آمين :) اِمّ ملى

Mulai Sed (Amen : ejus-misereatur ,Dominus sit-benignus-Ei) : omne perficiens-ei ?

عبد -الرحمان -ار كس ازيد يت : اسن كس اقضع المكحل

scloppos prohibuit ibi Iis? : quidquam addidit ibi non Abdurrahhman

دلبرود دسككن : -ار د سل گس اتفغ | اغر سلعتد يضنن ∴
.aliæ hæ-merces nisi exponitur ibi amplius non : cultros-et pulverem-et

نتن اسل گس اتحكمن سل غسد ☙
.hodie adhuc regnans ibi adhuc Ille

الباب الخبار يضنن المكحل ∴
.scloppis (de) ? alterum notitiarum Caput

-ار تن سكرن اغر غكرض تمزر غس ان سس كلت ∴ ام
Sed .omnis Susi interiore regionibus? tribus-in nisi faciunt eos Non

تمزر الغ سكرن المكحل | اذك ملغ اسمونسنت غد ∴
.hic earum-nomina narrabo tibi ,scloppos faciunt ubi regiones

غول ازورن | ارس تنن تدل ندولتت : تسنت | ارس
ei ,secundam : Idaulitiæ Tidli appellant ei antecedens quæ-eam-ad-Quod

تنن تسلن غتمزرت ندگرسمكت : تسكرت | مزر | ارس تنن
appellant ei ,regionum tertiam : Daggarsmukæ regione-in Tuslan appellant

كرن غتمزرت نددرر ∴ ام المعلمن غتمزرد اليك بدرغد
hic-memoravi tibi-quas his-regionibus-in opifices Sed .Submontanâ regione-in Kuran

اكثن گس بهر | -ار گس سكرن الجعبت المكحل تلكبوس
pistolas ,sclopporum pharetras faciunt ibi [See Note] ,valde ibi (sunt) multi

دزناد -اول كر بدر ام فلمكحل ∴ ام سككن دلكمم | -او
non? ,cultellos-et cultros Sed .scloppis-de os memorat quidquid aut igniaria-et

تن سكر اغر امزلن -اوعربن ∴ ام البرود | ارن سكرن غكريكن
unâquaque-in faciunt eum? ,pulverem Sed .Arabum ferrarii nisi facit eos

تمزرت | ولين ادرس : ام ولّ اكثن گس | ارت سكرن اغر غتمزرت
regione-in nisi faciunt eum-non? ibi plurimus qui Sed .paullum attamen ,regione

اَى دوبعقل انغ تمزرت -اوكل ∴ ختد اغسكرن البرود اكتن ✿

.plurimum pulverem faciunt-nobis has-Etiam? .Aglui regione aut Daubu'akeli

ام يوس نهشم | الن درس سمزلن | ارس سكرن المكحل ∴

.scloppos fecerunt ei-(qui) ,ferrarii-septem eum-apud erant ,Hishami filium Sed

حت ين -ار ايسكرن حت مى اغر انتن ∴ ام نتن زدغن

habitabant illi Sed .illi nisi quidquam vel faciens non quisquam Vel

ددس غترمت القسبتنس ابدا ∴ ام تمزرت نيت مست | الن

erant (*quondam*) ,Messe gentis regionem Sed .semper ejus-arcis medio-in eo-cum

درسن سمزلن زدغن درسن ابدا : ار سكرن المكحل -ار

aut scloppos facerent (qui) ;semper eos-apud habitârunt ferrarii-septem eos-apud

زند كلتن ∴ -ار ايسن كسن اتبق حت مى غصنعت

artificio-ex quidquam vel restat his-ex iis Non .omnia igniaria

انسن ✿

.horum

ام العداد ندشر نتمزرت مست | ادك ملغ اسمونسن غد ∴

.hic eorum-nomina ostendam tibi ,Messe regionis vicorum numerus Sed

ول كسن ازورن | ارس تنن اغبل : وسن | ارس تنن

,secundum : Aghbalu appellant ei ,antecedens iis-ex qui-Et

اغرمز : وسكراض ارس تنن املان : وسكز ارس تنن ادو محى :

: Iduwemmihya quartum : Imallalan tertium : Aghrims

وسمس ارس تنن اكدر ان سق : وسضس ارس تنن ايت الياس :

: Elyas-*του* gens sextum : macelli Agadir quintum

وسن ارس اتنن تكوت : وستم ارس تنن ادولن : وستز ارس

nonum : Idawellun octavum : Tikiwa septimum?

تنّين اِقنتر : وسمروا ارس تنّين تسنّلت : وِسَّحضعش ارس تنّين جوبر :
: Djawabr undecimum : Tesinnula decimum : Ifantar

وِستّنعش ارس تنّين تسِيل : وِستّلتعش ارس تنّين اخربان ∴
.Akraban tredecimum : Tasili duodecimum

الباب الخبر يضنين فيسغين ∴
.fluminibus-de alter*um*? notitiarum Caput

ادّك غد ملغ اِسمونسن كُلّتن غمس نتمزرت ودنن
Wadnuni civitatem intra omnium eorum-nomina ostendam hic Tibi

ار لِمدنت نتصرت ∴ ولِ كِسن اِزورن الّ غتزمت ودنن |
,Wadnuni medio-in erat antecedens iis-ex Quod .Tassuræ urbem ad-usque

ارس تنّين ود ندر : وسّن ارس تنّين اسف ان تزرولت :
: Tezerwelæ flumen secundum : Dræ Rivus

وسكرض ارس تنّين اسف اولغس : وسكّز ارس تنّين اسف نسس : وسمس
quintum : Susi flumen quartum : Elghasi flumen tertium

ارس تنّين اسف نتمزغت : وسضس ارس تنّين اسف اوورگ :
: Waurgi flumen sextum : Tamazighæ flumen

والسّن ارس تنّين اسف نيت امر : وستّم ارس تنّين اسف اگزلن :
: Igizulni flumen octavum : Amr gentis flumen septimum?

وستّز ارس تنّين اسف ندوگرض ∴ امّ اسغد ندوگرض | انتّي
illi ,Adaugerdi hoc-flumen Sed .Adawgerdi flumen nonum

افتبن تصّرت ✿
.Tassura est-superstructa

غود ادگن اِسمون اِسفن الّ عكر تصّرت تمزرت نسحر ∴
.Saharæ regionem (et) Tassuram inter quæ fluminum nomina sunt Tot

اِمّ اَغَرسن منشك اَيلّن غكَر وَسِف دوَيّض | اِلّ غكر وَسِف

flumen inter erat ; alterum-et flumen inter *ὄντα* quanta itinera Sed

نَضوكَرض يوّس -اغَرس اَر اَسِف اِكِزلّن : يِلِ غكر وَسِف اِكِزلّن

Igizulni flumen inter est : Igizulni flumen ad itineris dies-unus Adawgerdi

يوّس يضنِن اَر اَسِف نَيت اَمر : يِلِ غكَرس دوَسِف -اوورگ

Waurgi flumen-et id-inter est : Amr gentis flumen ad alter dies-unus

انّص اَوس يضنِن : يِلِ غكَرس دوَسِف نتمزغت كَسّت اَلسعت

horas quatuor Tamazighse flumen-et id-inter est : alterum diei dimidium

نغ تَك -ارگِ .·. اِمّ اَسِف نتمزغت اَر اَسِف نسّس | اِلّ غكَرتسن

ea-inter erat ,Susi flumen ad Tamazighse flumen Sed .supra-non . . . . aut

انّص -اوس يضنِن .·. اِمّ اَسِف نسّس اَر اَسِف -اولغس | اَس يضنِن

alter dies ,Elghasi flumen ad Susi flumen Sed .alterum diei dimidium

ايلّن غكَرتسن .·. اِمّ اَسِف -اولغس اَر اَسِف نتزرولت | اِلّ گِس وس

dies ibi erat ,Tazerwelse flumen ad Elghasi flumen Sed .ea-inter *ὄν*

يضنِن .·. اِمّ اَسِف نتزرولت اَر اَسِف نضرَ | اِلّن گِس سضِس وسن

dies sex ibi erat ,Dræ flumen ad Tazerwelse flumen Sed .alter

دنص -اويض -اوغرس .·. اِمّ ودنن اَر صحر | اِلّن گِس ربعين

40 ibi *ὄν* ,Saharam ad Wadnun Sed .itineris alterius dimidium-et

يوم نغ -اكّر كلّ -اوغرس ✿ غود ايكَن اِسمرن اِسفن اَلِّ

quæ flumina fundentia sunt Tot .itineris omnino amplius aut dies

اِلّن غكَر تصرت تمزرت -اوغرنن ✿

.Wadnuni regionem-(et) Tassuram inter *ὄντα*

اِمّ المعدر اَلغ -اكَن يِدن وَمَن | -ار گِس ازكزن زند اَسفن |

,flumina ut transientes ibi non-(et) ,aquæ stantes sunt? inquibus stagna Sed

ولّ كسن ازورن | الّ غنزمت نتمزرت نركيبت : تسنت غتزمت
medio-in secundum ; Argîbæ regionis medio-in erat ,præcedens iis-ex quod

نتمزرت ازركين : امّ سنتد اليك غد بدرع النت غتزمت
medio-in erant memoravi hìc quæ hæc-duo Sed ;Izargîn regionis

-اودنن .·. امّ ختّن يضنن | اتلّ يت كسنت غتزمت -اوزغر
Azaghari medio-in iis-ex unum est ,reliqua illa-etiam ? Sed .Wadnumi

ندولتيت : تسنت تلّ غتمزرت الخنبب : تسكرض اتلّ غتزمت
medio-in est tertium : Khanabib regione-in est secundum ; Idaulitiæ

ندكلل : تسكست تلّ غتمزرت ان تكّ .·. اد غود ادسنغ اغ المعدر
stagnis de nŏvi tot En .Tuggal regione-in erat quartum ; Daggilali

غمس نسوس كلّت ✿ والسلام ✿
.omnis Susi intus

الباب الجبر يضنن فتمزرت -اودنن كلّت .·.
.omnis Wadnuni regione-de aliarum notitiarum Caput

امّ تقبلن الّ كس لنّن كلّت | ادك كلّ غد ملغ اسمونسن
eorum-nomina demonstrabo hic omnino tibi ,omni *ovτες* eâ-in qui tribus Sed

كلّت .·. ولّ كس ازورن | ارس تنّن اكلمم : وسّن ارس تنّن
,secundum : Agalmim appellant ei ,præcedens ibi qui-Et .omnis?

ازفض : وسكراض ارس تنّن ازركين : وسكّز ارس تنّن -اولد بعيط :
: Bu'ita Weled quartum : Izargîn tertium : Izafad

وسمس ارس تنّن مجّض ستشلحيت امّ تعربيت ارس [تن]
Arabismum (per) sed Shilhismum-per Mudjdjad quintum

تنّن القرع : وسدس ارس تنّن ترو البرس : وسّن ارس تنّن
septimum? : Ellabras Terwa sextum : Elkura'

أرس تعربيت إمّ ستشلحيت أفرن تنّن أرس وستّم : أرگيبت
Arabismum-per sed Shilhismum-per Afran octavum : Argaiba

تنّن أرس وسمرو : مسكن أيت تنّن أرس وستز : الغران تنّن
decimum : Musakna Ait nonum : Elghiran

تنّن أرس وستنعش : بلال إدو تنّن أرس وتحضعش : إمّ إمتكن
duodecimum : Belál Idau undecimum sed : Imtakna

وسربعتعش إمّ : دليم أولد تنّن أرس وستلتعش : بسبع أولد
decimum-quartum sed : Dellîm Welad decimum-tertium : Busba' Weld

اهد ∴ تجكنت تنّن أرس وخمستعش إمّ : لدى تنّن أرس
hæc-Ecce .Tadjakana decimum-quintum sed : Ludayya

اور ختل إمّ ∴ أودنن غتمزرت ادسنع نتمزرد إسمون
non quas-etiam? Sed .Wadnuni regione-in nŏvi horum-tribuum? nomina

ملغ غد اليك تقبلند إمّ ✿ دصحر غگرسن گتنت سنغ
demonstravi hic tibi-quos tribus Sed .Sahara-et eos-inter sunt-multæ? nŏvi

يت حتّ تگم إمّ ∴ كلتنت ستخيمت اغر زدغنت ار كلتنت
una vel domus Sed .omnes tentoriis-in nisi habitant non omnes

شبخ أن تمزرت اغر بدرغ غد البد نتمزرد غمس تل ار
principis regio nisi memoravi hic quas has-regiones intra est non

دزر سلجر تبن انتت | نتمزرت غتزمت القسبتنس تل : نسن
saxo-et calce-e structa illa-(atque) regionis medio-in ejus-arx Erat .eorum

| والح : نبن نصر نتمزرت ورخام واليجور نجرن
tabulationem-(ad-quod) et : Bennasseri regione-e marmore-et lapidibus-et fabrorum

ابنين المعلمن إمّ ∴ نتصرت لمدنت امس ار اتزن سرس ار
structores-(et) opifices Sed .Tassuram urbem intra ad mittunt eam-propter

-اولَ اِنجرن اَلِبس بنين القسبتد | صنعنست | حتّى نتن
,hos etiam ; eam-ei-fabricaverunt ,hanc-arcem struxerunt ei-qui fabri aut

اِسرف سرسن ار تصرت ∴ ام القسبت رتل انشك القسبت
arcis instar est arx Sed .Tassuram ad-usque eos-propter misit

نتنج ∴ اسكر اِلملح -اودين غترفنس : اِسكر كس الفندق :
: repositoria eâ-in fecit : ejus-orâ-in Judæorum munimentum Fecit .Tangæ

اِسكر كس السق : اِضورس دك السر كلت ∴ والسلام ✿
.omnem murus . . . . . eam-cinxit : macellum eâ-in fecit

غد ايكن تم لخبر الِ كل اِنضم الطلب سيد برهيم -امست
Mesâ-e Ibrahim Sayyid Taleb ordinavit omnino quam cognitionis summa οὖσα Hic

-اسس غكيس | غتمزر الغ كل اِستر غمس نسوس
Susi intus visitavit omnino in-quibus regionibus-in ,suum-caput-in Suso-e

كلتنت ∴ والسلام ✿
.omnes

نضمت غسكس [عام] وحد -اخمسين -اميتين -اولف ∴ صمح
Condonet .1000-et 200-et 50-et uno anno-in est-Ordinata

اِنضم ارب غنغزيد اول ✿
Dominus scriptori

NOTES ON THE NARRATIVE OF SIDÎ IBRAHIM.

For the convenience of the printer, the common Arabic ق and ف are used for their Moorish equivalents, which appear in the MS. The form گ for G is also introduced, though the MS. has a ك with three dots below. The Elif, with a short mark at the right (ا), is very nearly imitated by the printer: it seems to denote what in common Arabic is written أ.

Besides these changes, some other liberties have been taken. The MS. abounds with the sign of Gesm (ْ), which must often indicate an obscure vowel, since words even of four consonants are found with Gesm over each of them. This has been systematically omitted, except where it seems to denote the actual combining of consonants without any vowel between. Moreover, the heavier suffix pronouns and several conjunctions have been often separated from the words to which they belong in the MS., although occasionally it has then been requisite to add an Elif. This might sometimes have been done, where it is not: thus in the first line, سيد برهم would be more accurately سيد ابرهم. I have also introduced, besides the colon, a perpendicular line, to serve as a comma or dash, which is often much wanted in the Berber, owing to their habit of opening sentences with nouns used absolutely, before which in English we might insert the formula "As regards."

A series of notes in detail were originally written, with remarks on the special forms or meanings of words in this (the Shilha) dialect, in contrast to the Showiah or Kabail. Farther consideration suggests that a separate grammar is desirable; towards which the narrative before us will furnish a variety of material. The dialect is evidently the same as that of the Tale of Sabi, lithographed under the directions of M. Delaporte, except that the latter is more poetical and more Arabized. Perhaps it may be here permitted to point out a few questions to which it is important to get a sound reply.

I. As to the number and meaning of the Tenses, and of the Derived forms of verbs.—The large Kabail Dictionary published at Paris, at the order of the Minister of War, manifests that in that dialect the verbs have *a peculiar present tense.* The best induction which I am able to make from the facts furnished in the Dictionary, leads to the following modes of forming the Present.

(1). By reduplication of the Second Radical; as:

Ifren, he chose;	*Iferren*, he chooses.
Isna, he threaded;	*Isenni*, he threads.
Irna, he added;	*Irennu*, he adds.

(2). By prefixing *t* to the root [with the sound of *ts*]; as:

Iserrem, he bridled;	*Itserrim*, he bridles.
(The vowel-change in that type being fixed.)	
Ilum, he heaped;	*Itlum*, he heaps.
Ihuzz, he shook;	*Ithuzz*, he shakes.

(3). By prefixing *'t* to the root [sounded *t* on the lowlands, but as English *th* in the highlands].

Idda, he walked;	*I'teddu*, he walks.
Illes, he touched;	*I'telles*, he touches.

(4). Transitive verbs, formed by *s* prefixed to the root, make their Present in *aï*, or sometimes by changing the last vowel to *ā*; as:

Isgen, he lulled to sleep;	*Isegnaï.*
Ismar, he poured;	*Ismaraï.*
Isa'wej, he bent;	*Issawāj.*

Many are Irregular, yet may be referred to one of these four heads; as:

Izra, he saw	pres.	*Izzer*	to the 1st.
Isla, he heard	„	*Issel*	
Irwel, he fled	„	*Ireggel*	
Yū'ta, he struck	„	*Ikka't*	
Irwa, he was glutted	„	*Ireggu*	
Yāmen, he confided	„	*Itamen*	to the 2nd.
Yū'g, he took	„	*Ita'g*	
Insa, it was extinguished	„	*Itnūs*	
Itsha, he ate	„	*I'tet(ta)*	to the 3rd.
Iswa, he drank	„	*I'tes*	
Igra, he cast	„	*Iggār*	to 1st and 4th.
Is'ga, he bought	„	*Issā'g*	
Izda, he ground	„	*Izzād*	

Finally, many form the Present by an arbitrary vowel change which cannot be predicted; as:

Isufag, he caused to go out; pres. *Isufug*.
Itnezzah, he amused himself; „ *Itnezzih*.
Issag, he looked; „ *Issiggi*.

This needs to be added to the grammar which I had formed out of (Kabail) version of certain parts of the Scriptures. I there explained the tense commencing with *It* or *I't*, as a derived form of the verb, with uncertain power; and that sometimes is correct. Thus from *Yū'ta*, he struck, comes a passive *Itwa't*, he is struck. See also *Itnezzah*, just cited.

The following Passive formations may be gleaned from the same Dictionary:

(1). By prefixing *m* to the root: as:

Isga, he bought;	*Imseg*, it was bought.
Irza, he broke;	*Imrez*, *Irrez*, it was broken.
Igra, he cast;	*Imger*, it was cast.
Izra, he saw;	*Imzer*, it was seen.

But this Passive form seems still oftener to be Reflective.

(2). By prefixing *n* to the root, as in Hebrew and Arabic. The examples of such a formation in verbs which may be regarded as genuine Berber, are few, yet are the more likely to be native formations, because they are not limited to a pure passive sense; as:

Ifka, he gave;	*Innefk*, it was given.
I'gla, he fell;	*Inneglai*, it was felled.
I'gtal, he cast down;	*Innagtal*, he hurried off.

Also in the Shilha dialect of Delaporte—

Ifla, he left;	*Iniffal*, he left off (neuter.)

Rather different are—

Iggera, he remained behind, he was last;	*Inger*, he brought to an end.
Igiz, he came or got down;	*Ineggez*, he alighted beyond.

(3). Vocalized passives are found in the Dictionary here and there, which resist classification; as:

I'gem, he tans;	*I'gma*, it is tanned.

So in the Narrative,

Yumiz, it was taken; (p. 223, l. 3.)	*Emzen*, they took. (p. 222, l. 9.)

Up to a certain point, the Shilha dialect exhibits phenomena similar to these. Thus we have *Inna*, he said; *Ittini*, he says: but

it still remains to inquire, How do the tenses *Ar ittini* and *Ad yini* differ from *Ittini?* And why do we not find *Ar yini* or *Ar inna,* and *Arad yini,* as in other verbs? or, if they were found, what would their meaning be?

Again, how does final *d,* (which sometimes follows the verb directly, and sometimes the pronoun suffix of the verb,) affect the sense? I had concluded that it expressed *past time* with greater decision; but it is found clearly annexed to several *present* tenses, both here and in the large Kabail Dictionary. A final *t* also now and then appears, as in p. 228, l. 7; p. 243, l. 9; *igat* for *iga,* was; which I cannot certainly explain.

Moreover, if I have elsewhere rightly interpreted the verbal forms ending in *an* (when they are certainly not of the 3rd pers. pl.) as participial, we seem to have a series of as many participles as tenses: formed by annexing *an* to the 3rd pers. sing. Such participles, however, generally follow the relative, which then has the sense of the Greek or German definite article. This needs fuller examination.— In several pages, final *n* appears repeatedly, where we expect *d;* and the MS. is too plain to allow us to refer it to error of writing.

As the translation of Sidí Ibrahim's Narrative was executed before I had had the opportunity of studying the large Dictionary, and I had not then gained insight into the Present forms of the Kabail, the tenses of several of the verbs have been translated with less accurasy than might have been. In some cases I may have mistaken the tense-mark for a pronoun prefix. Thus, p. 222, l. 8, تَرزَن perhaps is *frangunt,* not *eam fregerunt.*

II. We desire a more certain knowledge of the pronominal forms in the Shilha dialect. The relative *Elli* or *Illi* has all the appearance of being transferred into the language from the vulgar Arabic; yet the freedom with which it annexes Berber prepositions to itself in a manner quite unarabic, (as *Ellis,* per quod, de quo; *Elli'g,* in quo; *Ellif,* super quo,) suggests the inquiry, whether it may not be native. In p. 236, l. 2, there is also *Mas,* de quo. The following I with difficulty determined, from a very narrow induction or even by mere analogy; and they need confirmation.

Ennemu, Ellimu, quisquis.
'Gawwid, 'Gayed, tot.
'Gawwelli, 'Gayelli, quot.
Na'gawid, de tanto, tanti.
'Gayen, ibidem.
'Gawin, tot; illo modo.
'Gikkan, 'Gikkad, isto modo.
'Gikelli, ipso modo quo; velut.

Ukan, deinde.
Enshek, instar.
Menshek, quantum.
'Kattid, etiam hic.
'Kattin, etiam ille.
'Kattilli, etiam qui.
Na'ginna, istius modi.
'Ginna, ibi.

In p. 223, l. 6, and p. 225, l. 10, I seem to have punctuated wrongly, and thereby to have fallen into a wrong conjecture for the sense of *'Gikkad* and *Menshek*. *Na'ginna* occurs only, I believe, in p. 253, l. 2; *'Ginna* in p. 253, l. 1.

III. The letter ث seems to be excluded from the Shilha dialect, and ت to be sounded as *t*, not as in the Kabail, *ts*. But on this also we need more positive information; and on the distinction (if any) between the suffixes for "him" and "her" in this dialect.

Several words are translated upon feeble conjecture, and a few are left blank. *Uzru*, in p. 246, l. 1, and perhaps elsewhere, is wrongly rendered "lignum" for "saxum:" also the plural in l. 5. P. 237, l. 5, *Afazd*, conjecturally rendered "necesse est," possibly is two words, *af azd*, "on (the) morrow;" since Hodgson has *seld azzed*, "day after to-morrow."—*Wissen* is several times used for "seventh," as well as for "second." Concerning the latter meaning there is no doubt; but for "seventh" we expect *wisset*, or possibly in this dialect, *wissa*. Yet the MS. is too clear to allow of reading *wisset*.—In p. 238 and elsewhere, the dialect seems to confound *Yuli*, "he ascended," and *I'gli*, "he fell," into the same form *I'gli:* yet possibly some of the cases may be explained by observing that *I'gli fella*, "he fell upon," has in Berber the sense "he attacked," just as in English.—In p. 219, l. 1, and p. 223, l. 4, the MS. clearly has لرنسد, but I now believe that the two first letters are accidentally joined, for ار, as no prefix ل elsewhere recurs.

Through a misunderstanding of my directions, a misprint has been introduced at the bottom of p. 234, where كُلُّتن (*kulluten*) should be the last word, though the first word in the next page (*uten*) is likely to be an accidental repetition in the MS. of the closing sound. —Some hyphens also, here and there, are erroneously placed; but this will be readily detected, and cannot mislead any one.

F. W. N.

Art. IX.—*On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazní.* *By* Edward Thomas, Esq., *Bengal Civil Service.*

[*Read 6th March,* 1847.]

The coins to which the following notice refers form part of the extensive collection made in Afghanistán by Mr. Masson, now deposited in the Museum at the India House. Amid the more important relics of the Bactrian successors of Alexander the Great, which constituted the bulk of this acquisition, slight attention was attracted by the medals of a subsequent Mohammedan dynasty, the events of whose rule were comparatively well known, and whose history in itself possessed none of the classic interest attaching to the survival of the Greek monarchies in Central Asia. From this and other causes, Professor Wilson, in his description of the antiquities of Ariana, which the labours of Mr. Masson had placed at his command, but briefly referred to the numismatic monuments of the race of Sabaktagín. Such being the case, and adverting both to the numerical amount of these coins now available, and to the very limited number of medals of the Ghaznaví princes yet noticed, either by English or continental writers, it seemed probable that an attempt at a classification of these minor antiquities might not be altogether devoid of interest.

In addition to the assistance derived from the free use of the treasures of the East India Company's Cabinet, advantage has been taken of the equally liberal access afforded to various public and private numismatic collections, to fill in some of the lacunæ in the serial order of the moneys of Zábulistán; the aid thus obtained will be found duly acknowledged in the detail of the coins themselves.

The eventful period of Mohammedan history comprised in the early rule of the Ghaznavís; the brilliant successes of the arms of Islám under Mahmúd; as well as the material encouragement given to literature by the potentates of the day, have rendered the rise of this dynasty the theme of so many Eastern authors, that in the fulness of their narrations but little remains to be elucidated by collateral means; and though in the present instance scanty room is left for speculation founded on medals, these effectively fulfil their more legitimate archæological use of verifying authentic history, and thus testing the comparative accuracy of the various writers on the subjects they illustrate, whose works are now extant.

If the coins of the present series, unlike the medals of Greece and Rome, offer no rare devices, no effigies or imitations of animal life,

which, in their boldness and truth of execution, claim homage for the perfection of ancient art; or if they fail in affording classic allegories, and indirect references to customs and superstitions, suitable for the display of antiquarian ingenuity, they record what is of greater importance,—a proportionately far more ample circle of facts. If they supply a more limited field for the exercise of the imagination, and therefore furnish a less fascinating subject of study, they at the same time narrow the possible departure from truth. In so doing they may fairly claim excuse for want of symbolical or sculptural characteristics, as well as a lenient criticism on the artistic demerits, with which, it must be conceded, the later portion of the series especially abounds.

Some few specimens of the early mintages will indeed stand comparison with the best works of art of their class, both in respect to the fineness of the lines, and the elegance and accuracy of the Kufic legends; and, taken as a suite, even allowing for the great deterioration in execution observable under the less powerful sultans of the dynasty, the produce of the Ghazní mint must be admitted to have attained a high degree of excellence in the order of Asiatic coinages of its age.

Before proceeding to a detail of the inscriptions to be found on the coins, a few points may be alluded to as offering subjects of more general interest than the simple historical illustration afforded by the major part of the medals of this collection.

The opinion advanced by many Mohammedan authors[1] that Sabaktagín[2] should be looked upon as the first monarch of the Ghaznaví race, is not borne out by the record on his money: on the contrary, however powerful and virtually independent they may have been, Sabaktagín, Ismaíl, and Mahmúd himself in the early days of his rise, all acknowledged the supremacy of the Sámání emperors, and duly inscribed on the currency struck by themselves as local governors, the name of the Lord Paramount, under whom they held dominion. It was not until the year 389 A.H. that the House of Ghazní assumed independence as sovereign princes, which event is duly marked on Mahmúd's medals of the period, in the rejection of the name of the Suzerain Sámání, and the addition of the prefix Amír to his own titles. (See Coins, Nos. 9, 10, 23, &c.)

The numerous coins of Mahmúd, in their varied titular superscrip-

[1] Mirchond, Hist. Gaz. ed. Wilken, p. 5; Khalásat al Akhbár (Price), ii. 277; Ferishtah (Dow), i. 21 and 22; (Briggs), i. 13 and 14.

[2] Or Subuktikin, سبکتکین, as it is written in a carefully engrossed MS. of Utbí in the British Museum.

tions, mark most distinctly the progressive epochs of his eventful career, commencing with the comparatively humble prænomen of Seif al daulah, bestowed on him by Núh bin Mansúr in 384 A.H., proceeding onwards to the then usual Sámání titles of sovereignty, Al Amír, Al Syíd, conjoined with the epithets of Yamín al daulah, and Amín al Millat, conferred on him by the Khalíf Al Kádir billah, advancing next to the appellation of Nizám al dín, and the occasional prefix of the pompous designations of Malik al Memálik and Malik al Mulúk, and finally ending in the disuse of all titular adjuncts, and the simple inscription of the now truly celebrated name he had received at his birth. (Ex gr., vide Coins, Nos. 8, 9, 43, 44, 49, 53.)

The absence of any numismatic record of the title of Ghází, said to have been adopted by Mahmúd on his return from some of his early expeditions into India, leads to an inference, not altogether unsupported by other negative evidence, that the term in question was not introduced into current use, in the full sense of its more modern acceptation, till a somewhat later period.

The unique bilingual coin of Mahmúd, No. 42, claims a more than passing notice, though in the uncertainty regarding the date, and the erasure of the place of coinage, no satisfactory inference can be deduced as to the possible circumstances under which it was struck. Hence, viewing it on the one hand as a coin minted in reference to some particular occasion, it avails but little to speculate on the precise section of Mahmúd's Indian conquests, which was judged of such importance by the victor, as to be dignified by a commemorative medal; or, on the other hand, recognizing this piece as the existing representative of a local currency, it is equally unprofitable to hazard an opinion as to the identical people upon whom it may have been thought desirable to impress an exalted idea of the greatness of their new master, by thus communicating the sound of his titles through the medium of the characters of the language in vulgar use. The letters on the reverse assimilate in a measure to the form of the Sanskrit alphabet denominated "Kutila," which is proved by the date on the Rohilkund inscription to have been in local use in the tenth century: at the same time the Kutila alphabet by no means suffices for their full identification, many of the characters employed approaching the style of writing attributed to a period, antecedent by many centuries to the precise epoch at which these letters were fashioned; some characters agreeing accurately with the corresponding letters in the Tibetan alphabet, and not a few being readily identifiable with their equivalents in the Allahabad inscription of the fifth century. Of course, it was naturally to be anticipated, that the letters should

exhibit the local modifications incident to the dialect of the country to which they referred, and amid the many Hindú kingdoms subdued by Mahmúd's prowess, it was scarcely to be hoped, that the legend in question should be fully explicable by means of any given form of the still limited number of recognized systems of Devanagarí Palæography; but the present difficulty extends beyond this, inasmuch as the expression of the characters is in itself undecided, and by no means uniform. For the rest, making allowance for a considerable degree of malformation, these letters may be looked upon as generally identical with those employed by the Brahmanical kings of Kábul, and subsequently by the Hindú princes of Northern India. In as far as the legend has yet been deciphered, it would appear to be nothing more than a partial transcript of the Kufic inscription on the opposite surface of the coin. From the imperfection of the form of many of the Sanskrit characters, it would seem that the die engraver must have been somewhat unskilled in the language, the symbols of which he was called upon to imitate. This deduction, if not justified by the crude shape of several of the letters themselves, and the unsuccessful attempt at a representation of the due sound of the corresponding words of the Arabic legend, evidenced in the whole tenor of the transcript, is conclusively proved by the want of uniformity in what must be taken to stand for one and the same letter, in different parts of the inscription itself. The result arrived at from this fact, as well as from the superiority of the execution of the Kufic side of the coin, is simply, that the piece in question was not the work of native moneyers, but rather the production of an artist whose aptitude had been derived from Mohammedan mints; and hence, that this medal should be viewed, not as a new adaptation of the coinage of a subdued country, but as a specimen of money fabricated in reference to some peculiar occasion, to mark some particular victory, or perpetuate some notable conquest.

Mahmúd is related to have assumed the title of "Sultán," and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term[1]. A reference to the coins of this prince, however, leads to some doubt on the subject, and although their testimony in no wise militates against the generally received account of the origin of the designation, yet it inferentially controverts the assertion of its immediate adoption and use by Mahmúd himself. D'Herbelot avers that Mahmúd was first designated by this epithet in 393, by Khalaf, Governor of Seistán, on the occasion of his surrendering himself to Mahmúd's mercy after a futile attempt at rebellion. Il "luy apporta les clefs de sa fortresse, et le reconnut pour son Sultan. Ce titre de Sultan, qui n'étoit pas

[1] Khalásat al Akhbár (Price), ii. 282; Elphinstone's India, i. 538.

encore en usage, plut si fort à Mahmúd, qu'il le prit toujours depuis ce temps-là, et pardonna, non seulement à Khalaf sa révolte, mais le rétablit encore dans son gouvernement[1]." De Guignes, accepting the same narrative of the first enunciation of the word in its new sense, adds a more probable and less express assertion of the degree of Mahmúd's self-application of the term in question—"Et ce titre jusqu'alors inconnu, devint en usage parmi les Princes Mahometans, il plut Mahmoud qui le porta le premier. Auparavant les Princes prenoient celui de 'Malek' ou de 'Roi.' Dans la suite celui-ci s'avilit et ne fut plus donné qu'à des princes tributaires et soumis aux Sulthans[2]." From the numismatic evidence available, it would appear that, although it may reasonably have pleased Mahmúd to be called by this novel denomination, he does not seem directly to have caused himself to be thus officially designated. Had Mahmúd either himself assumed this prænomen, or had he received it from any competent authority, he would most probably have inscribed the appellation on his coins, whereon it will be seen he at one time much rejoiced to record his greatness. Moreover, had this title been adopted and employed by Mahmúd in the sense in which it was subsequently used, it is but reasonable to infer that it would have been continued by his immediate successors, and, as such, would have appeared on their money; whereas, the first Ghaznaví sovereign who stamps his coinage with the term, is Ibrahím[3], 451 A.H. (See Coins, Nos. 117, 119, &c.) During the interval, the designation had already been appropriated by another dynasty, the Seljúk Toghral Beg having entitled himself Sultán so early as 437 A.H., if not before that date, after having in the first instance, on his conquest of Khorasán from Masaúd, contented himself with the usual style of Amír. (See note to Coin 59.)

The coins of Mahmúd, in addition to the illustration afforded of the various phases of his immediate reign, offer evidence on two points of contemporaneous history, one of which at least, under ordinary circumstances, should not have been dependent for elucidation upon the medals of a separate dynasty. The first of these refers to the non-recognition of the Khalíf Al Kádir billah, in the province of Khorásán, until about eight years subsequent to his virtual accession. It is necessary to premise, that in the year 381 A.H. the Khalíf Al Táïh lillah was dethroned by the Búíah Bahá al daulah, the then Amír al Amará of the court of Baghdád, and his place supplied by

[1] D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient., p. 533. Paris, 1697. [2] De Guignes, ii. 162.

[3] It still, however, remains a question whether this title may not have been used by Masaúd on some of his *provincial* Coins. (See p. 343.) Al Bíhekí uses the Amír and Sultán indifferently.

Ahmed bin Ishak, who was elevated to the Khiláfat under the denomination of Al Kádir billah. The author of the Táríkh Guzídah relates that "the people of the province of Khorásán objecting to this supercession, which was justified by no offence on the part of the late pontiff, continued to recite the public prayers in his name; and it was not until Mahmúd of Ghazní, in disavowing his allegiance to the Sámánís, became supreme in that country, that any alteration in this practice was effected, when Mahmúd, between whom and the new Imám there existed a friendly understanding, directed the Khutbah to be read in the name of Al Kádir[1]."

The accuracy of this relation is fully borne out by the archæological evidence furnished by the collection under notice, Mahmúd's coins invariably bearing the designation of the superseded Khalíf, Al-Táí'h, in conjunction with his own early title of Seif al daulah, up to the year 387 (Nos. 8 and 22[2]); while his money of a closely subsequent period is marked by the simultaneous appearance of the name of Al Kádir, in association with his own newly-received titles of Yamín al daulah and Amín al Millat. (See Coins Nos. 9, 10, 23, and 24.) The second medal just cited bears unusually explicit testimony to this self-imposed submission, in the addition made to Mahmúd's detailed honorary denominations which are here seen to conclude with the novel designation of Walí[3] Amír al Mómінín (*Servant of the Commander of the Faithful*).

[1] Extract Táríkh Guzídah, East India Company's Persian MS. Copy, No. 649.

اما در خراسان مدتي خطبه بنام طايع بود و ميگفتند امام
بيگناهي كه لايق خلع نباشد چرا مخلوع شود تا چون سلطان
محمود سبكتكين بران ملك مستولي شد و اورا با قادر خليفه
مصادقت بود خطبه بنام قادر كرد

A somewhat similar passage is to be found in the Rauzat al Safá.

[2] A coin similar to No. 22 has formed the subject of an able essay from the pen of M. De Saulcy, Conservateur du Musée d'Artillerie, Paris. It is satisfactory to find the general accuracy of M. De Saulcy's inferences regarding the non-recognition of Al Kádir in the province of Khorasán, confirmed by the additional historical evidence above quoted, as well as by the copious numismatic examples supplied by the present collection. See Journal Asiatique, 1842.

[3] D'Herbelot quotes the following anecdote from the Táríkh al Khofata, in advertence to the said title of Walí, and the objections to its use supposed to have existed in the case of the Ghaznaví Sultán:—

"Il est rapporté dans le Tarikh al Khofata, ou Histoire des Khalifes, que le Sultan Mahmoud, s'étant rendu maître absolu du pays de Gaznin, et de tant d'autres, par sa valeur, souhaita que le Khalife luy donnast un titre digne de sa

The second circumstance referred to, which has now to be noticed, also regards the dynasty of the Khalífs of Baghdád. The Níshápúr coins, Nos. 12, 19, 20, and 26, display the title of Al Ghálib billah, indicated as "designated successor" to Al Kádir. Who the individual thus nominated may have been, is not recorded in any of the histories of the time usually accessible to English readers, but a manuscript copy of the Tárikh Guzídah, in the Library of the East India House, fortunately supplies the omission in the following passage, which readily leads to an identification of the person in question, and at the same time accounts for the disappearance of his name from the money of subsequent years, and the eventual accession of a son of Al Kádir, other than the one thus appointed.

puissance, et pour l'obtenir il luy envoya un Ambassade extraordinaire. L'Imam Abou Mansor ayant demeuré un an ou environ à Bagdet sans rien avancer dans l'affaire qu'il poursuivoit, présenta enfin un memoire dans lequel il exposoit au Khalife les grandes conquestes de son maître, sa puissance, et son zéle pour la foy Musulmane, la conversion de plusieurs milliers d'Idolâtres à la religion Mahometane, le changement de leurs temples en mosquées, et qu'enfin il étoit tout à fait indigne que l'on ne reconnut pas le merite d'un si grand Prince par un titre qui coûtoit si peu de chose au Khalife de luy accorder. Ce memoire fit son effet auprès du Khalife, lequel craignant qu'un si puissant Monarque ne tournast enfin ses armes contre luy, assembla son conseil, et mit en déliberation quel titre on pouvoit luy accorder, désirant, à cause que ce Prince étoit fils d'un esclave, qu'on luy en donnast un qui fut équivoque. On trouva donc que celuy de Veli luy conviendroit bien, parce que ce mot qui signifie Amy et Seigneur, signifie aussi Serviteur et Valet. Mahmoud connut bien la pensée du Khalife, et il luy envoya un present de cent mille écus, afin qu'il ajoûtast seulement une lettre au nom, à sçavoir, un Elif. On luy accorda cette grace, et on luy envoya les Patentes avec le titre de Vali, qui signifie absolument Maître et Commandant. *Doulet Schah.*" (Bib. Orient., D'Herbelot, p. 536.)

This story bears an appearance of much improbability when considered in reference to the many early instances of mutual good will evinced on the part of Mahmúd and of his spiritual superior; as well as to the fact, that, later in life, Mahmúd is proved to have received or appropriated titles numerous and laudatory enough to have satisfied the most craving ambition for such empty honours; and finally, Ferishtah notices the receipt at the Court of Ghazní, so late as 417 A.H., of a diploma conferring certain highly complimentary denominations both upon Mahmúd and his three sons (كهف الدوله &c., Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 81), apparently the unsolicited offering of the identical Khalíf who is reported to have designed the cutting reproach above described. It is true, it is not stated to what particular period of his reign the occurrence of this episode should be assigned; but Mahmúd's prompt and seemingly voluntary display of the word ولي in immediate connexion with his own name does not look as if he had any scruples regarding its employment, or any dread of consequent imputations on his parentage, even though the *Wali* was wanting in the so-asserted *coveted Alif.*

قادر خليفهرا در سال هشتاد و سيوم پسري آمد اورا ابو الفضل
محمّد نام كرد و چون بحدّ بلوغ رسيد ولي عهد كردانيد اما
پيش از قادر دركذشت و هم سال هشتاد و سيوم قادر خليفه با
دختر بهاو الدوله ديلم سكينه نام وصلت كرد[1]

"In the year (3)83, a son was born to Al Kádir, who was named Abúl Fazl Mohammed, and when he arrived at years of puberty he was created Walí Ah'd; he, however, died during the life-time of Al Kádir, who, in this same year, 83, married Sukínah, the daughter of Bahá al daulah Dílemí."

The Tabakát Násirí furnishes the following additional information regarding the titular designations of Al Kádir's sons, and conclusively fixes the identity of the first successor elect:—

و درتمامت عهد محمود خليفه القادر بالله بود و او پسر
خودرا در روزكار خود ولي كرد و اورا الغالب بالله لقب داد غالب
پيش از پدر برحمت حق پيوست پس ديكر پسررا ولي عهد كرد
القايم بامر الله لقب داد[2]

The distinct information afforded by the money of Mahmúd on this head, simply amounts to the fact that Al Ghálib billah was recognized heir to the Khiláfat from 399 to 409 A.H. It would also seem probable, from the occurrence of this title on a coin of Mumehid al daulah Merwání, dated 392, that the nomination of Al Ghálib as "Walí Ah'd," must have taken place prior to this last epoch. The piece here referred to has been described by Fræhn and Lindberg[3], and

[1] MS., No. 180, p. 129. East India House Library.

[2] MS. Tabakát Násirí. East India House Library.

[3] Silver. Struck at Míáfáríkín. A.H. (3)92.

Areas.

لا الــــه الا الله	لله محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك لــه	صلى الله عليه و اله
الـغـالـب بـالله	الـقـادر بـالله
مـهـد الـدولـه	الملك بهاء الـدولـة
ابو منصور	قطب الملة

Fræhn, Num. Kuf. p. 77; Lindberg, Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. du Nord, 1844, p. 261.

the title of Al Ghálib billah was imagined by these authors to appertain to the Merwán Amír himself; but the more explanatory legends on the Ghaznaví coins indicate clearly the personage to whom the epithet belonged. In 416 A.H. Abdallah, the son of Al Kádir, then in the twenty-seventh year of his age, entitled Al Káim beamerillah, was nominated successor, and acceded to the throne of his father in the last month of 422 A.H.

The ample materials supplied by Mr. Masson's collection, in leading to the identification of previously unattributed medals, shew that the appropriation by the Ghaznaví monarchs of the device of Nandí (Bull of Siva), superscribed by the words Srí Samanta dév, as first used on the coins of the Brahmanical kings of Kábul, took place somewhat earlier than has hitherto been supposed; and that, whereas Ibrahím was imagined to have been the first king who associated himself thus far with his Indian possessions, it now appears that the conjunction of Mohammedan titles with the Hindú Bull of Siva on one and the same piece, took place in the reign of Modúd (432 A.H. = 1041 A.D.), if not at a still earlier period. (See Coins, Nos. 91, 92.)

Several conjectures have been advanced to account for the seeming anomaly of a sect, usually so prejudiced on such subjects as the followers of Islám, accepting as a device for their money, a symbol (adverting to the source whence it was derived) so purely idolatrous as the one in question. In this instance a reference to the other coins of the collection assists in elucidating this apparent difficulty. It is to be remarked, that, throughout all the conquests and consequent acquisitions of new territory effected by the House of Ghazní, there is to be seen a general indisposition to disturb the existing currency of the kingdoms subdued. Financial motives may probably have first prompted this conservatism; but from whatever cause arising, the effects are manifest throughout the period of the more extended domination of this dynasty. What description of currency Alptegín may have found in use, or may himself have introduced at Ghazní, there are no means of knowing, as the only coin now extant, which bears his distinct name, is a piece struck at Anderábeh in 347 A.H. (see Coin No. 1); but Sabaktagín's coins, minted in the province of Bámíán, vary considerably from the currency of his masters, the Sámánís, and approximate in weight and size to the local coinage of Kábul, under the Hindú kings of that city. Mahmúd's Ghazní coins come in the same category; while the money of his Níshápúr mint differs materially from these last, both in form and value. The like may be said of the produce of the mints of Balkh and Sejistán, the former of which obviously, and the latter inferentially, may be taken to disclose their

respective provincial peculiarities. The same remarks also apply generally to the coins of Masaúd. The conclusion deducible from these facts is, that there existed on the part of the Moslem potentates of Central Asia at this period a desire to retain, as little changed as need be, the local currency of the various provinces of their dominions[1]. Thus, if it be admitted, that it was not the custom to alter the coinage of a newly-conquered country, the Ghaznaví monarchs, in stamping the coins of the Hindús with their own names and titles, must be considered, not as having placed the figure of a Bull upon their own money, but as having "caused the coin of these provinces to be struck in their own names." The feeling of vanity incident to Oriental Princes, which so uniformly led to this ceremony on the first acquisition of new territory, need not be enlarged upon, further than to notice that, under this plan of retaining for the obverse, the device of the existing currency, in conjunction with the proof of their own supremacy, evidenced by the legend on the reverse, a more explicit record of the conquest itself was attained, than would have resulted even from a radical change of the entire coinage.

The identification of the name of the city of Lahór on the imperfect margins of coins Nos. 92 and 129, points out distinctly the province to which these bilingual coins refer; and a proof is thus furnished of the accuracy of the previous attribution of an intermediate class of medals, bearing the device of the Bull with the Horseman reverse, which have been assigned to the Hindú Sovereigns of the Punjáb[2], and which are now seen to form the connecting link between the original coins of the Brahmanical Kings of Kábul and the Mohammedan adaptation of this species of money now under review.

[1] If it were necessary to cite foreign and earlier examples of an analogous absence of more modern Moslem scruples in similar cases, it might be advantageous to point, among others, to the remarkable departure from the supposed absolute rule on the subject, instanced in the retention by the Arabs, for the first twenty years after their conquest of the country, of the Byzantine types of the money of Mauritania, extending not only to the use of the general device of the prototype, and the expression of Arabic names by means of Latin letters, but even to an acceptance of a but slightly modified form of the cross itself. It is to be observed, moreover, that this enduring instance of freedom from the prejudice above referred to, occurred at a period closely subsequent to the difference between the Khalif Abdal Malik and the Greek Emperor, which, in A.H. 76, led to the first fabrication of pure Arabic money, when, if there had been the most remote feeling of objection to the use of symbols on the part of the then followers of Islam, it must have been expected to have shown itself with peculiar force. An interesting paper on this subject may be referred to in letter No. 5 of M. de Saulcy à M. Reinaud, Journal Asiatique, A.D. 1840.

[2] Journ. Roy. As. Soc., No. XVII., p. 184.

There is considerable discrepancy observable in the statements of the various authors[1] of the history of the family of Ghazní in the recognition of the exact date of Abdal Rashíd's succession; though the coins of the series under notice are insufficient to fix with precision when the event occurred, yet as they suffice to prove when it actually had taken place, they assist in dissipating errors which it might

[1] To obviate the confusion incident to detached notices, and to present at one view a detail of the various historical writers to whom reference is made in the present paper, the following summary of the several authorities quoted is here subjoined:—

1. The Biography of Masaúd, the son of Mahmúd of Ghazní, catalogued in the Royal Library, *Paris*, as the *Tárikh Masaúdí*, by Abúl Fazl Mohammed bin Al Husén Al Bíhekí. The work contains a full and voluminous account of the reign of Masaúd, interspersed with occasional digressions upon the occurrences of the day: it was chiefly written and finally completed after the accession of Ibrahím, 451 A.H. The writer also refers to his own Tárikh Yamíní. Hají Khalfa has a notice of this author's compositions, to the following effect:—"Tárikh A'l Subektegin, Historia magna Ghaznavidarum pluribus voluminibus comprehensa, Auctore Abu'lfadhl Al Beihacki." The Paris MS. is of modern transcription (A.H. 1019), and, as far as the contents of European Public Libraries are known, it is believed to be unique. The existence of this MS. only became known to the author of the present notice after the major part of these sheets had been prepared for the press; and even then the time disposable for its examination only admitted of a partial perusal.

2. Tabakát Násirí, by Minháj bin Suráj Jurjání, dedicated to Násir al dín Mahmúd of Delhí. A.H. 658.

3. Tárikh Moktasar al Daul, by the Armenian Abúl Faraj. Latest date, 683 A.H.

4. Jámi al Tawáríkh, by Rashíd al dín, Vizír of Gázán Khán, and subsequently of Oljáitú Khán. A.H. 710.

5. Tárikh Binákití, otherwise entitled Rauzat álí al Albáb, an Abridgment of the Jámi al Tawáríkh, by Abú Solímán Fakhr al dín Dáúd (vulg. Binákití). A.H. 717.

6. The original of the Annales Muslemici of Abúl Fedá of Hamát was written between 715 and 732 A.H.

7. Tárikh Guzídah, by Ahmed bin Abú Bekr Al Kaswíní. 730 A.H.

8. Rauzat al Safá, by Mír Kháwand Sháh (otherwise Mirkhond), dedicated to Alí Shír, Vizír of Sultán Hussén. The author died in Khorásán, in 903 A.H.

9. Khalásat al Akhbár, an Abridgement of the Rauzat al Safá, 905 A.H.; 10. Habíb al Sair, about 927 A.H., dedicated to Habíb Ullah, Vízír of Ismaíl Shah Sufaví, King of Persia; both by Ghíáth al dín bin Hamid al din, Khondemír.

11. Jemál al dín *Abúl Mahásan* Yúsaf bin Taghrí Bardí (Egypt). Middle of ninth century A.H.

12. Tárikh Nigáristan, by Ahmed bin Mohammed, Al Kaswíní. Middle of tenth century A.H.

13. Tabakát Akberí, by Nizám al dín Ahmed bin Mohammed Mokim, of Herát, written at Agrah, in the time of Akber (about) 991 A.H.

14. Tárikh al Jenábí, by Abú Mohammed Mustafí (vulg. Al Jenábí). Latest date 997. The author died in 999 A.H.

15. Mirát al A'lem, by Bukhtáwur Khán. Time of Aúrungzíb.

16. Tárikh Ferishtah, (Bíjápúr). A.H. 1018 = A.D. 1609.

otherwise have been somewhat difficult to rectify. Minháj al Suráj (the author of the Tabakát Násirí), Abúl Faraj, Abúl Fedá, and Rashíd al dín, unite in affirming that both Módúd's death and Abdal Rashíd's accession took place in the year 441 A.H. The three latter authorities, indeed, assume a direct succession, but the probably more accurately informed Minháj al Suráj allows an interval of two months for the joint reigns of Masaúd II. and Abúl Hasan Alí[1]. The Táríkh Guzídah gives the year 441 A.H. (Rajab) as the date of the death of Módúd, and 443 for the accession of Abdal Rashíd, and these periods have been accepted with little variation by the authors of the Rauzat al Safá, Habíb al Sair, the Khalásat al Akhbár, and the Táríkh Ferishtah. The evidence derivable from coins would indicate that these historians are one and all, to a certain extent, incorrect in their determination of the epochs in question, inasmuch as the medal of Abdal Rashíd (No. 93) clearly displays the *written* numbers 440, thereby proving incontestably, that the prince, under whose auspices it was struck, had obtained full possession of regal honours some time in the year recorded. In thus approximately fixing the time of the accession of Abdal Rashíd, and in so doing ante-dating the period usually assigned for Módúd's death by at least *seven* months, some assistance might have been anticipated therefrom in the solution of another doubtful point, viz., the duration of the reign of this last-named prince. The averments of different historians on this head vary to the amount of no less than two years and ten months[2]. Of course this discrepancy implies to a certain extent a corresponding difference of opinion as to the date of accession. There is, however, less variation in the assignment of this æra than might have been expected from the contradictions adverted to; the period of the decease of this monarch being now in a manner fixed, demands an acceptance of the testimony of those authors whose relation assimilates most nearly with the probabilities resulting from the facts available. The year above assigned as having witnessed Módúd's death, 440 A.H., placed in reference to even the earliest date proposed by any one of the writers whose conflicting assertions it is desirable to reconcile, does not admit of the possibility of his having reigned nine years. It becomes, therefore, necessary to ascertain how far the shorter period of seven years will meet the exigencies of the case. Here again, a weighty objection presents itself, inasmuch as the corroborative detail of contemporaneous events, and the means

[1] Or بها الدوله على *Bahá al daulah* Alí, as he is called by the Guzídah and Habíb al Sair.

[2] Násirí, Abúl Faraj, Jenábí, Tabakát Akberí, and Ferishtah, nine years; Abúl Fedá, nine years and ten months; Rauzat al Safá, nine years and eleven months; Taríkh Guzídah, Habíb al Sair, and Khalásat al Akhbár, seven years.

of accurate knowledge possessed by the author of the Táríkh Masaúdí, scarcely admit a question as to the correctness of his statement, and this is to the effect that Módúd captured and killed his uncle Mohammed in Shabán, 432 A.H.[1] If this is to be taken as the actual date of accession, it leaves an interval to be filled up of eight years, more or less; the exact duration of the asserted seven years' sway, is thus manifestly unsupported by the evidence cited; it is true that, by antedating still more the epoch of the decease of Módúd, the use of the term seven years, or less than eight, might possibly be justified; but it must at the same time be admitted that there is no direct testimony to support any such solution of the matter at issue[2].

Whatever may be the correct estimate of the length of the reign of this Prince, the origin of the differences to be detected in the assertions of the historians above noted seems to be clearly explained by a casual observation to be found in the Mirát al A'lem; viz., that "Módúd reigned for seven years subsequent to the death of his uncle Mohammed, and in all nine years[3]." Hence it would appear that it was the practice among some writers to compute the commencement of Módúd's reign at an epoch much prior to his full accession, that is to say, from the time when he was first placed in charge of Balkh, &c., on his father's departure for Ghazní, in 431[4], or

[1] و امیر مودود در ین شعبان که شاه ملک خطبه بکردانید
[۴۳۲] بدینور آمد و جنک کرد و عمرا بکرفت با پسرانش و
کساني که با آن پادشاه یار بودند همکانرا بکشت

Táríkh Masaúdí, Bibl. du Roi, Paris.

[2] M. De Guignes (ii. 177), in quoting from various authors at one and the same time, has placed himself in a difficulty in respect to this question. He takes Abúl Faraj's statement, which he cites as A.H. 433, for the date of Mohammed's second accession; then mentioning Módúd's death and quoting from Abúl Fedá, he states that this monarch died in 440, after a reign of nine years and ten months. The seven years actually adopted from date to date, as the duration of Módúd's reign, in which also must be included the brief sway of Mohammed, is thus, in the confusion of authorities, amplified by two years and ten months. Moreover, the quotations themselves are both incorrect; the printed texts of Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá, severally give 432 as the epoch of the revolt against Masaúd and the elevation of Mohammed [see p. 343 (Pococke, Oxon. 1643), and p. 132, vol. iii. (Reisk), respectively]. In like manner, the period of 440 will be seen in the printed text of the original to be 441 (see Abúl Fedá, iii. 132).

[3] سلطان مودود بن مسعود بعد از هلاک عم خویش مدت
هفت سال و بقولي نه سال بسلطنت قیام نموده * *

Mirát al A'lem, No. 7657, Rich Collection, British Museum.

[4] Shawál, 431. Abúl Fedá.

possibly from a period still earlier, as Ferishtah asserts that Módúd was invested with the "ensigns of royalty" some time previous to this occasion.

The next circumstance which is capable of elucidation from the coins of this series, although a matter of no particular weight, is a fit subject of remark, as showing the possible value of numismatic studies in historical investigations of greater importance. A single medal of Ferokhzád is adequate at this distance of time, and in the hands of a strange people, to decide with certainty what the authors of the Guzídah and the Jámi al Tawáríkh, writing with all the advantages incident to their positions, were unable to pronounce a correct opinion upon, viz., the parentage of the prince in question, who is here distinctly announced as "the son of Masaúd." (No. 97, &c.)

Another inquiry which has attracted much notice from the various authors whose evidence is extant, is the duration of the rule of Ibrahím. This difficulty, even in the absence of any direct medallic dates, is capable of solution from the collateral record borne by coins. Fortunately for the facility of present proof, the discussion of the question is much simplified by the circumstance of the debated point being, not up to what time the reign extended, but as to which of the two periods of thirty or forty-two years[1], is the correct representative of its total duration. All writers concede that one of these two given quantities is the true one: hence a settlement of the matter is reduced to the simple acceptance of one or the other. There seems to be little ground for hesitation in the admission that either the year 450 or 451 A.H., (probably the latter,) witnessed the accession of this Sultán. If thirty years be taken as the limit of his reign, Ibrahím should have ceased to rule in 480-481 A.H.; but as the coin, No. 125, exhibits the name of the Khalíf Al Mostazher billah, as contemporary with Ibrahím, whose money it purports to be, and as this Khalíf did not ascend his own pontifical throne till 487, it is clear that Ibrahím of Ghazní lived and ruled subsequent to this last epoch. The inference that he reigned his full forty-two years is, under the circumstances, sufficiently legitimate.

It remains to notice one more fact, illustrated by the money of the period,—that Bahrám Sháh held his kingdom under Sanjar, governor of Khorásán. Abúl Fedá refers[2] distinctly to this point, and even goes somewhat beyond what the coins of Bahrám (Nos. 142, 144, &c.)

[1] Date of Ibrahím's death, according to different authors: Násirí, 492; Táríkh Guzídah, idem; Táríkh Binákiti, idem; Abúl Fedá, Mirkhond, and Jenábi, 481; Abúl Mahásan, 492; Ferishtah, doubtful!! De Guignes, 481.

[2] ودخل سنجر غزنة واستولى عليها واخذ منها اموالا عظيمة

altogether support, in respect to the mention of the recital in the Khutbah, and consequent inscription on the coinage, of the name of Sanjar's brother, Mohammed, the Seljúk emperor. The Jámi al Tawáríkh, more accurately, confines its assertion to the now affirmed recognition of Sanjar's supremacy alone[1]. Mirkhond gives no information on the subject of this vassalage; and Ferishtah only alludes to it indirectly in noticing the original grant of the kingdom of Ghazní to Bahrám by Sanjar on the occasion of the latter's defeat of Arslán Sháh. The medals of Khusrú Sháh (Nos. 148, 149) indicate that this feudal subjection extended to the early part at least of the reign of this, the succeeding king.

Adverting to the numerical amount of the Ghaznaví coins in the East India House Cabinet, some explanation is due, regarding the apparently limited result obtained in actual dates. But this deficiency is readily to be accounted for. It will be seen that in the silver money of the kingdom of Ghazní it was the custom to record both the date and place of coinage on margins forming the extreme edge of the piece. Two causes have combined in the present instance to render the inscriptions on these margins generally illegible. First, to judge from the specimens extant, the insufficient breadth of the planchet in itself could have afforded but little probability of securing a complete marginal legend on any given piece, the dies being usually larger than the surface of the metal to be impressed[2]. Second, the coins of Mr.

وقرّر السلطنة لبهرامشاه بن مسعود وان يخطب في مملكته
السلطان محمد ثم للملك سنجر ثم للسلطان بهرامشاه المذكور
Abúl Fedá, Ann. Mos., iii. 384.

[1] و دیگر خطبه بنام سلطان سنجر کردند
Persian Jámi al Tawáríkh, British Museum, No. 7628.

[2] The following description of the process of coining, as in use at Delhí at a somewhat later period, probably represents pretty accurately the mode employed in the fabrication of the coins of the present series:—

"The Melter melts the refined plates of gold [silver, &c.], and casts them into round ingots.

"The Zerráb [ضراب] cuts from round ingots, pieces of gold, silver, and copper of the size of the coin. * * * It is surprising, that in Iran and Turan they cannot cut these round pieces without an anvil [سندان] made on purpose; and in Hindoostan, the workman, without any such machine, performs this business with such exactness, that there is not the difference of a single hair.

"The Seal-engraver engraves the dies of coins on steel and such like metals.

"The Sickchy places the round piece of metal between two dies [سكه], and, by the strength of the Hammerer, both sides are stamped at one stroke." Gladwin's Ayín í Akberí, i. 15.

Masson's collection were gathered on the locale of their original issue and subsequent more immediate circulation, and unlike the reserved store of less-freely current foreign coin, or the choice specimens of a miser's hoard, they have, in the majority of instances, been inhumed in detail, apparently, after having been subject to an extensive series of successive transfers in the ordinary commerce of their day. The coins have suffered accordingly; and much of what was probably originally clear, is now often wholly obliterated.

The same causes have offered obstacles to the full examination of the geographical questions involved in a comprehensive decipherment of the names of the mint cities. There, however, seems to be less ground to regret this circumstance, as, judging from the names already identified, there is reason to suppose that, dating from the reign of Módúd, with the single exception of the produce of the city of Lahór, the monetary circulation of the empire was supplied solely from the mint of the capital. It is not proposed to enter into a lengthened examination of the positions and relative importance of the different cities recorded on these coins. They are sufficiently in accordance with accepted history to require but little separate notice; where any difficulty in regard to due identification suggests itself, full geographical references are appended in the notes pertaining to the coin on which the name first occurs.

In the detailed enumeration of these cities, the absence of the name of Kábul, looking to its magnitude and local importance, might be noticed as somewhat singular; but it would seem, from the limited numismatic evidence at present available, as if Ferwán, in the first instance, and subsequently Ghazní, had satisfied the monetary wants of the entire Hill country in which they were situated. The political value of the position of the former, in reference to the Sámání possessions immediately to the northward, together with its advantageous proximity to the silver mines of Punjhír, may probably have first influenced the adoption of Ferwán as a leading mint city, in which respect it would seem to have superseded the functions of Punjhír itself, which was at one time a place of coinage of the Emperors of Bokhárá[1]. By the time Mahmúd had ascended the throne, the regal city of Ghazní may be supposed to have risen to a sufficiently elevated position as a capital to do away with the necessity of the services of a second mint in the circumjacent territory.

Though not strictly within the limits of the prominent subject under review, yet, as a matter intimately connected with the rise of

[1] بنجهير. See Coins, Nos. *75 (A.H. 294) and *133 (A.H. 302), Fræhn's Recensio.

the Moslem power in an integral portion of the Ghaznaví dominions, it may be useful in regard to the closely previous history of Kábul[1] itself, to examine briefly the narrations of the contemporaneous as

[1] In citing the subjoined extracts from different geographical authors, it will be useful to premise the dates at which these writers severally flourished, as without full advertence to this particular, many of their assertions regarding the state of backwardness or advancement of the various localities described may appear inconsistent, and even conflicting.

In judging also of the credibility of the more modern geographers, close attention must be paid to discriminate between the original observations of the author himself and the incorporated transcripts from earlier authorities: these last are often acknowledged, but when not admitted to be quotations, are manifestly liable to mislead.

The earliest production to which it is necessary to refer, is the Arabic original of the Persian MS. translated by Ouseley, and published by him in the year 1800, as "The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal." Ouseley's MS. was at that time supposed to be a Persian version of Ibn Haukul's Arabic Musálik wa Mumálik; intermediately, the text in question has been attributed by Uylenbroek to Ibn Khordadbah, whose original composition was supposed to bear a similar title, viz., كتاب المسالك والممالك or المسالك الى الممالك. Gildemeister has, however, determined that "Istakhrí ابو اسحق الفارسى الاصطخرى auctor libri *climatum* كتاب الاقاليم, qui inter annos 900 et 825 Chr. scripsit. Sindiam invisit ejusque terræ tabulam delineavit. Editus est ejus liber ex versione Persica in Anglicam linguam translatus ab Ouseleyo." (Scriptorum Arabum De Rebus Indicis, p. 76.) Mœller also, the Editor of the lithographed facsimile of the original Arabic text of Istakhrí, testifies that "Idem est opus geographicum, quod vir cel. W. Ouseley in Anglicum sermonem translatum anno 1800 hoc nomine 'The Oriental Geography, &c.,' Londini edidit;" and he adds, regarding the date of the composition itself, "Inde apertum est, Abu Ishakum annum 303 inter et annum 307 vel 309 H. (= 915—921 p. Chr.) opus suum geographicum confecisse." (Liber Climatum, &c., J. H. Mœller, Gothæ, 1829, p. 22.)

Ibn Haukul began his travels in 331 A.H. "scientiæ cupiditate ductus longis itineribus fere omnes terras Muslimicas invisit, ex quibus redux sub annum 366 (inc. 29 Aug., 976) opus suum geographicum كتاب المسالك والممالك inscriptum concinnavit ita, ut id Içthakhrii libro quasi fundamento superstrueret suis observationibus aucto et perfecto." (Gilde., p. 78.)

In like manner, Mœller observes—"Diserte igitur Ibn Haukalides unice ad opus Abu Ishaki el faresii se applicasse, ejusque formam et expositionem sequutum esse profitetur, ita ut Ibn Haukalidis opus non nisi altera sit auctior et emendatior Abu Ishaki operis editio. (p. 4.) Ibn Haukalidem opus suum anno demum 366—367 H. (= 976—977 p. Chr.) ex itineribus suis, quæ anno 331 H. (= 942 p. Chr.) ingressus erat reducem composuisse, cujus rei nullam clarissimi Uylenbroekii sagacitas reliquit dubitationem." (Mœller, p. 22.)

Albírúní's Kánún is the next in order of antiquity; the exact epoch of its completion is not known, but an approximate estimate may be formed from the

well as the more modern writers who refer to its conquest by the Mohammedans, as it is by no means clear from their varied assertions

fact of the author's death having occurred shortly subsequent to 430 A.H. = 1038—39 A.D.

Edrisi's work received its finishing stroke in Shawál, 548 A.H. = 1154 A.D.

Kaswíní (Zakaria bin Mohammed bin Mahmúd), the author of the Athár al belád, died in 674 A.H. = 1275 A.D.

And, lastly, Abúl Fedá concluded his geographical compilation (Takwím al Baladán) in 721 A.H. = 1321 A.D.

وكابل لها قهندز موصوف بالتحصن واليه طريق واحد وفيها
المسلمون ولها الربض بها الكفار من الهند ويزعمون ان الشاه
لايستحق الملك الا اذا عقد له الملك بكابل

(Liber Climatum Auctore El Issthachri, J. H. Mœller, Gothæ, p. 110.)

The sentence regarding the inhabitants of Kábul appears in the following form in the Persian Mesálik wa Memálik.

كابل قهندزي دارد * * * قهندز مسلمان دارند و
ربض هندوان كافر دارند و گويند كه شاه &c.

(Persian MS. مسالك و ممالك East India House.)

" Kábul is a town with a very strong castle, accessible only by one road: this is in the hands of the Mussulmans; but the town belongs to the infidel Indians. They say," &c. (Ouseley's Translation, p. 226.)

Ibn Haukal follows Istakhrí with sufficient precision in the main point of the occupancy of the town and castle; but he seems, intentionally or otherwise, to have made the الكفار من الهند into الكفار واليهود.

و كابل لها قهندز موصوف بالتحصن واليه طريق واحد وفيها
المسلمون ولها ربض فيه الكفار واليهود ويزعمون &c.

Ibn Haukal. Bodleian Library, No. 538, Hunt.

Kaswíní does not throw any new light upon this subject, his version of the matter being much to the same purport as the following *mis-quotation* of Ibn Haukal by Abúl Fedá, where it will be seen that the nice distinction of the tenure of the castle by the Mohammedans, while the Hindús still occupied the town, is entirely lost sight of.

Judging from the French translation (Géographie D'Edrisi, par M. Amédée Jaubert, pp. 182, 183; see also p. 459), the passage in Edrisi, corresponding with the first part of the above quotation, appears to be somewhat confused, and a simultaneous reference to the city of Kandahar, is strangely mixed up with many local details, which manifestly apply to the town of Kábul.

قال ابن حوقل وكابل من عمل باميان وفيها المسلمون وكفار

at what exact period the city first passed from the hands of its ancient masters. Leaving unnoticed the early attacks of the generals of the first Khalífs, the wars of Hejáj, and even the conquests of Amín[1], which scarcely affected the permanent independence of the monarchy, the explicit statements of the Tabakát Násirí[2], and the Rauzat al

الهنود ويزعم الهنود ان الملك وهو الشاه لايستحقّ الشاهية دون
ان يعقد له المُلك في كابل * * * قال في القانون قلعة
كابل مستقرّ ملوك الاتراك كانوا ثم البراهمة * * وكانت
من ثغور المسلمين في وجوه الهند وفي غربيها مدينة غزنة

(Géographie D'Aboulfeda, Texte Arabe, par MM. Reinaud et De Slane, Paris, 1843, p. ٤٥٩٠)

"Ibn Haukul said: Kábul is in the jurisdiction of Bámíán, and in it are Moslems and infidel Hindús. The Hindús are of opinion that the King, who is the Sháh, is not rightly entitled to the dignity of Sháh, unless the sovereignty be covenanted to him in Kábul. It is said in the Kánún (Albírúní), that the Castle of Kábul was the residence of (the) *Princes of the Túrks, then of the Bráhmans* * * it is one of the frontiers of the Moslems towards India: to the west of it also is the city of Ghazní."

Before taking leave of the geographical authors who illustrate the various subjects connected with the age immediately preceding that to which the present paper refers, it is desirable to attract the attention of the curious in such matters to the valuable but little known MS. of Ibn Khordadbah, in the Bodleian Library, which contains much miscellaneous information regarding India and Central Asia; the work is entitled كتاب المسالك في صفة الارض by عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن خرداذبه. The Oxford MS. was engrossed in 630 A.H. Ibn Khordadbah died in 300 A.H. (= 912 A.D.); his compositions are largely praised, and were extensively used by Masaúdí, 332 A.H. (Vide Meadows of Gold, &c., Oriental Translation Fund Edition.)

[1] "In the year 107, under the Khalifat of Hesham, the son of Abdulmullick, his Governor of Khorasan, Ameen, the son of Abdallah Casheery, conquered Ghour, Ghurgistan, and Neemroz of Cabul. From that time, under the Khalifs of the Houses of Ommiah and Abbas, these provinces continued to be dependent upon Khorasan." Gladwin's Ayin í Akberí, ii. 209.

[2] الاول يعقوب الليث * * و از انجا بجانب طخارستان و
بلخ آمد و بكرفت و از انجا باز كشت بجانب كابل آمد و
ان فتح در شهور سنه ست و خمسين و مايتين بود

MS. Tabakát Násirí. East India House.

Safá[1], show that Kábul was completely subjugated, in the middle of the third century of the Hijrah, by Yakúb Líth, the first of the Sofárians of Sejistán.

Istakhrí, writing early in the fourth century of the Hijrah (303 to 309), notices the citadel of Kábul as being in the hands of the Mohammedans, the town being still occupied by the Hindús, and he goes on to add that the King is not entitled to the sovereignty unless it be covenanted to him at Kábul; both the one and the other expression implying that the king, to whom the latter sentence refers, did not reside at Kábul, his castle being in the occupancy of people of another race, and the very fact of the necessity of his coming to Kábul for inauguration, evidencing generally that he held his court in some other city. Ibn Haukul, in reproducing almost verbatim the exact expressions of Istakhrí, gives additional authenticity to the original text, which he recognises as the basis of his own work, appending thereto such observations as the progress of time and his own more extended knowledge enabled him to supply[2].

Albírúní's averment, in the Kánún, which has been preserved

[1] و یعقوب از فارس مراجعت کرده منازل قطع نموده ببلخ رسید و انجا بالشکر کران متوجه کابل شد و کابلرا در تحت تصرف آورده حاکم آن ولایت اسیر و دستکیر کشت و بعد از آن بهرات رفت و بر ان دیار مستولي کشت

MS. Rauzat al Safá, Royal Asiatic Society, No. 43.

[2] For instance, the passage which should correspond with the text of Istakhrí, p. 110, line 7, Mœller, and which is translated from the Persian version by Ouseley, p. 225, last line, and two first lines of 226, runs thus in Ibn Haukal:—

ولیس فی هذه النواحي والمدن التی فی نواحی بلخ کلها مال ولاتجارة اکثر من غزنة لانها فرضة الهند وان کانت قد تغیرت فی سنة خمس وخمسین وثلثمایة

And among his many additional observations on Kábul, he in one place thus expresses himself:—

والذی شاهدت دون ذلك باسباب جرت من الفتن بدخول البتکین والخلف بینه وبین الملوك المجاورین

The few passages cited, in the present paper, from the Oxford MS. of Ibn Haukal have been carefully collated with a copy of *the Leyden* MS. of that author in the possession of M. Reinaud.

by Abúl Fedá, is strictly consistent with his assertions in the Táríkh Hind; but at open variance with the deposition of Istakhrí; so much so, that it is difficult to reconcile the obvious discrepancies. If Istakhrí be correct, the castle of Kábul was in the possession of the Moslems in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijrah; it had possibly remained so from the time of its capture by Yakúb Líth. Albírúní's mention of its being the residence of the Túrk, and subsequently of the Brahman Kings, would appear to indicate, that, however much of continuity there may have been in its occupancy by the royal line of the former race, and whether they were the parties losing and recovering it, or not, one fact is clear, that the Brahmans, as well as the Túrks, once possessed it. Albírúní's position in the suite of Mahmúd of Ghazní, and his consequent opportunities of obtaining precise information on the spot, to the closely preceding history of which his observations refer, together with his admitted knowledge of the language of the country itself, render his evidence on this point unassailable. Recognizing this, and at the same time holding deserved confidence in the accuracy of Istakhrí, who, it is to be noted, was also an original observer, the apparently conflicting statements are explicable only by concluding that Kábul having once been subdued by the Moslems, was recovered by the indigenous rulers some time after the visit of Istakhrí. This may have been effected by the Túrks; but it is more probable that the Brahmans recaptured the city, as, on attaining supremacy, and speedily becoming a powerful and conquering dynasty, and having also in view the prestige attaching to the ancient metropolis, which has formed the subject of remark of the Mohammedan authors now cited, their early endeavours would naturally be directed to the re-acquisition of so desirable a possession.

In examining the correspondence of the different epochs, it will be seen that the period which directly succeeds the date of Istakhrí's observations, accords with sufficient exactitude with the conclusions already arrived at from indirect testimony as to the date of the subversion of the Túrk, and the rise of the Brahman dynasty[1]. It may be objected that the wording of the sentence of the Kánún above referred to, might be taken to mean that the Brahman occupation of the Castle of Kábul was direct, as was their supercession of the Túrk Kings; but this can scarcely be said to be the sole and necessary sense of the terms employed.

Before concluding these preliminary observations, it may be requisite to advert concisely to an important element of any numismatic system—the monetary standard. The monuments at command, whence

[1] Journ. Roy. As. Soc., No. XVII., p. 179.

all inferences on this head must be drawn, though numerically ample, are, as has been already remarked, in a generally imperfect state of preservation, arising not so much from any direct injuries incident to their age, as from a necessary detrition consequent upon a prolonged circulation; hence, any attempt at an adjudication of the original mint weights, must be founded less on any extended average, than on a comparatively limited number of selected specimens. It will tend to disembarrass the inquiry of much of its apparent complexity, to reject all advertence to provincial coins, and to confine the attention to the produce of the mints more directly dependent on the seat of government, as these will manifestly offer a more accurate criterion of the Imperial standard, than the palpably varying currencies of the several departmental governments.

In the unsatisfactory state of the materials which are to form the more immediate proofs in the present investigation, great aid may be anticipated from an approximate identification of the monetary system upon which the Ghaznaví currency was founded. Two most obvious sources present themselves for selection—the system of the Sámánís, from whose court the newly-made monarchs took their rise; or that of the Brahmans, to whose kingdom they succeeded[1]. The weights of the Bokhárá moneys have not been very accurately ascertained. Marsden, however, after deciding upon the standard of the coins of the Khalífs as averaging severally—gold, 65·6 grains; silver, 45 grains,—goes on to observe, that the Sámání dirhems appear to have been slightly heavier than the corresponding coins of the Khalífs; and his own published specimens of these pieces—thirteen in number—show an average weight of 45·30; the highest weight of any single coin being 49·5 grains. If these last figures are to be taken as the accurate representatives of the standard of the Bokhárá silver coinage, it would seem to have been too light to have stood as an exemplar for the money of Ghazní, as a cursory glance at the weights noted with each coin now described will discover numerous silver pieces of 51, many of 52, and some as high as 55 grains. The most ancient Indian coins known, which consist of "small flattened bits of silver, stamped

[1] As far as can be ascertained from the numismatic records they have left behind them, the currency of the Brahmans would seem to have formed a very large proportion of the circulating medium of the surrounding hills. It is to be noted also, *en passant*, that the precise Dynasty that ruled at Ghazní at the time of its capture by Alptegín has not yet been identified, but judging from Istakhrí's statement (Ouseley's Orient. Geog., p. 208), the future capital of the empire of Mahmúd was a place of but small importance in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijera.

at random with punches," the supposed "marks of successive dynasties authenticating the currency," average in weight 50 grains[1]; the old Varáha, a frequent and widely-spread species of silver coin, also averages 50 grains[2]; and, finally, the Rájpút, or what are now known to be Kábul Brahmanical silver pieces, average *over* 50 grains[3], and appear, from their direct connexion and close approximation in weight, to have served as the true models upon which the Ghaznaví money was based[4], and this inference receives additional confirmation from the fact of an apparent attempt at an assimilation, observable in the outline, form, and shape of the moneys of the preceding and succeeding dynasties.

All reference to the gold coinage of the House of Ghazní has hitherto been avoided, as there is no known gold piece of the Brahman Kings of Kábul, whereon to found a comparison; indeed, it would seem as if the currency of this metal, if existing at all, in the form of national coins, in the Hill dominion of this race, must have been very closely limited[5]. Moreover, singular to say, among the many gold medals of Mahmúd and his immediate successors, struck in various parts of the extensive empire which owned their sway, there is not a single metropolitan gold coin in Mr. Masson's collection that dates prior to the reign of Módúd. These and the succeeding extant medals of this metal, like the provincial coins of Níshápúr[6], &c., in their extraordinary variation in weight, offer serious obstacles to any satisfactory identification of the *intentional* standard. The Ghazní gold coins, on a rough estimate, may be inferred to have had a proposed average weight of about 65 or 66 grains[7], and to have been modelled, in point of form, upon Mahmúd's early Níshápúr Dínárs, which he first issued while still only a Governor for the Sámánís[8].

[1] Prinsep, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. IV. p. 627 (50 grains, or the tank of 3 máshas.)

[2] Idem, p. 671.

[3] Idem, 677.

[4] There are some unaccountable exceptions to any possible rule of even partially equivalent weights, as, for instance, No. 65. The silver coin, No. 37, which weighs 75 grains, may possibly have had an original mint value of 1½ Ghazní Dirhems.

[5] "The Unit of the Hindú system [India] was of gold, and the old specimens found are of 60 or 120 grains in weight." Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 15.

[6] The Níshápúr gold coins of Mahmúd, Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 12, average 68·4 grains. No. 9 differs in weight from No. 10 as much as 20·1 grains. Masaúd's Coin, No. 58, and three other similar Níshápúr pieces, the latter actually the produce of the *same* dies, average 64·85 grains; but vary in different specimens to the extent of 23·2 grains.

[7] Nos. 77, 78, 93, and 98, average 65 grains.

[8] The Cabinets in the British Museum, amid an ample series of Sámání silver

The copper currency would appear, from its general characteristics, and the weights of the better specimens, to have been intended to correspond with the silver currency. It will be seen that brass was occasionally made use of for coinage, though probably only in lieu of the accustomed copper; but the minute silver coins of 5·25 and 5·50 grains (Nos. 74, 103) must have greatly superseded the necessity for an extensive copper currency. The mixed silver and copper, or billon, coinage of the Punjáb may be assumed to have been continued, in point of weight and value, on the old Hindú standard.

A few words seem to be required to introduce to the notice of the reader an item of occasional consequence in numismatic investigations, the monograms and mint marks. In the present instance, it may be sufficient to remark that the former present but few notable attributes, and that their range is limited to the following unimportant varieties:—

1. Words expressive of some excellence, such as عدل Justice (Just?)[1]; فتح Victory, &c.

coins, contain only five specimens of the gold coinage of the Monarchs of this House, and these are, without exception, the produce of the Níshápúr mint; their weights are as follows:—A.H. 345, 66·4 grains; A.H. 365, 62·0 grains; A.H. 376, 75·0 grains; and A.H. 384, two specimens, 54·5 and 48·0 respectively.

[1] It seems probable, from the frequent and, at times, almost uniform use of the word عدل on the dies of Kufic Coins, that its employment was designed to refer to the integral value of the piece to be impressed, and, as such, that it should be read as عدل *Just*, and not as عدل *Justice*. The appearance of other distinct substantives, such as فتح, ظفر, which occasionally take the place of عدل—though these also may be taken to refer, less directly perhaps, to the Coins so inscribed—certainly militates against the entire conclusiveness of this suggestion; but, on the other hand, the early history of Arab money, and the subsequent numismatic employment of the word عدل and its derivatives, tend to show that the present may very fairly be admitted to be an open question.

The earliest coinage of copper money under the Arabs (*ante*, A.H. 76), or rather the but slightly-modified adaptation by the followers of Mohammed of the existing currency of the Syrian provinces of the Byzantine Empire, in which are associated Arabic words in conjunction with the old devices and partially retained Greek legends, shows that the probably initiatory application of the Arabic alphabet to these Coins was employed to denote simply the place of issue and the full and fair measure of the value of the piece; the one conveyed by the curt inscription of the name of the mint city, the other in the record of either of the following

2. Abbreviations of titles, as يميني ناصري &c.

3. The names of the Arabic months, رجب محرم &c., referring possibly to the month in which the piece was struck.

4. The designation of various cities of the empire, such as اندراب فروان &c. It does not appear quite clear what may be the intent of these last superscriptions, as they are found on coins fabricated in cities *other* than the town whose name is expressed by the monogram.

words: جائز *current, lawful;* طيّب *good;* واف *full* (*weight*). Occasionally the Arabic words are used in direct reference to, and correspondence with, the customary Greek word ΚΑΛΟΝ, to be found on the opposite surface of one and the same Coin, evidencing thereby their meaning—long unknown—as well as their use and origin. (M. de Saulcy, Journal Asiatique, 1830; see also Marsden, Pl. XVII., Nos. CCCIV., CCCII., and Nos. CCXCVI., CCXCVIII.)

The primary examples of the inscription of عدل are noticed in Fræhn's comprehensive Recensio Numorum Muhamedanorum, as discovered on certain Bokhárí copper Coins of the Khalifs—A.H. 185, 190, and 209—which may be supposed, from the tenor of the legend, and the circumstances under which they were struck, to have required some unusual authentication; thence the use of the word may be traced as of constant recurrence on the medals of the Sámánís, whence it must have found its way to the anomalous position it is seen to hold on the Nágarí Coins of the Hindú Kings of Kábul (Journ. Roy. As. Soc., No. XVII., p. 187).

Whatever may have been the previously accepted signification of this monogram, its adoption in this case admits of but one explanation, namely, that it was intended to attest the current value of the coinage thus marked. Had it been the object of the Kábul Monarchs in any way to refer to their own justice, or to equity in the abstract, as a virtue to be inculcated in the every-day transactions of those who were to use this money, the monogrammatic word would have been put forward in a form and character intelligible to those who were expected to profit either by one or the other—the subjects of the Sovereign with whose device it was thus identified—and not, as is here seen, in the superscription of an isolated word in a strange language, the very letters of which the native die-engravers were scarce able to imitate; whereas, in adopting the attestation mark of his neighbours, the Ruler of the day may well have proposed to himself to ensure the free circulation of his own money, if not in the adjacent dominions, still, unobstructed by undue depreciation in the marts and bazaars of the conterminal cities.

For the after adaptation of the import of عدل, it may be sufficient to refer generally to its frequent appearance on Coins authoritatively passed into circulation in a country for whose express use they were not in the first instance designed. The currency marks in these cases were given by a subsequent *punch* impression, and the adjective meaning of عدل, the most common of these stamp words, is indirectly attested by the oft-recurring use of the nearly analogous

The single letters, which are found occupying any convenient corner of the area, are usually held to be mere mint marks, and seem to import little or nothing calling for extended observation[1].

contre-marque رائج *current* (Fræhn, pp. 463, 499); more rarely is to be seen the punch-mark of ظفر victory, which, though convertible as ظفر *victorious*, may be accepted as a substantive denoting perchance the acquisitions of *victory*, in the same way that the original die use of this word and its synonyme فتح may be supposed to have referred to a similar means of attainment of the component materials, or to have conveyed the less direct allusion, implied in the mere commemorative record of a reçent conquest.

The عدل is also often conjoined in these second impressions with the name of the Monarch who wishes to stamp the authenticity of the medal. (See Numismatic Chronicle, Coin of Humáyún, Article "Patán Kings of Delhí," 1847.)

And, lastly, the term seems so to have passed into mint *parlance*, that it is to be seen as عدليه and عدليه فلس (Fræhn's Recensio, pp. 431, 432) on the moneys of the descendants of Timúr; and by Mohammed Tughlak of Delhí the word العدلي is applied as the direct name of a novel species of Coin introduced by himself. (Num. Chron., 1847.)

[1] Professor Fræhn at one time advocated the opinion that the isolated Kufic letter or letters ج س ذ ر and ل occasionally to be seen on ancient Mohammedan Coins, were intended to denote the month in which the pieces thus marked were struck (Fræhn, Prol., i., 15), these being supposed respectively to stand for the initial letters of Jumád al Awal, Shabán, Zí'l Hajah, Rabí al Awal, and ل for the final letter and representative of Shawál. Setting aside the admittedly unsatisfactory character of this theory, its application to the present series is clearly shown to be inadmissible, by the fact of the occurrence of one of these supposed initial indices س in conjunction with other single consonants, which might also stand for the first letter of the name of a month, as in No. 3; but, in addition to this, the same س is seen on three several Coins, Nos. 84, 85, 86, in association with the full names of three distinct and varying Mohammedan months.

TABLE I.—*The Ghaznavi Dynasty, and the cotemporary Khalífs.*

Khalífs of Baghdád.	Accepted Dates of Accession. A.H.	A.H.	A.D.	Kings of Ghazní.	Notices of various Dates assigned by different Authorities.
Al Mutí'h lillah .... Abd., Zí'l Kadah, 363	334				
		350	961	Alptegín	Revolt, 350, Rauzat al Safá.
Al Táí'h lillah .... Deposed by Bahá al daulah, (Shabán) 381	363				
		366	976	Ishak	Alptegín's death, doubtful. See note, p. 298. Abú Ishak "*Ibrahím,*" Ibn Haukal.
		367	977	Sabaktagín	
Al Kádir billah .... Died, Zí'l Hajah, 422	381				
		387	997	Ismaíl...............	Sabaktagín's death, 386, Násirí, Jenábí; 387, Abúl Farág; 387 (Shabán), Rauzat al Safá, Abúl Fedá, Khalásat al Akhbár.
		388	998	Mahmúd...........	Entitled Seif al daulah, 384; takes possession of Ghazní, Rabí al Awal, 388; becomes independent, 389.—Various authorities.
		421	1030	Mohammed	Mahmúd's death, Rabí al A'khir, 421, Abúl Fedá, Khalásat al Akhbár.—See note to Coins 50, 51, &c.
		421	1030	Masaúd	Mohammed's 1st reign, 7 months, Násirí. Masaúd's accession, 422, Násirí; 421 (3rd Shawál), Rauzat al Safá, Khalásat al Akhbár.
Al Káim beamerillah ... Died, 13 Shabán, 467	422				
		432	1040–1	Mohammed	Rebellion against Masaúd, 432 (Rabí al A'khir), Abúl Fedá; Mohammed's restoration, 432, Násirí, Abúl Faraj; 432 (Jumád al Awal), Akberí; 433, Habíb al Sair; 433 (Jumád al Awal), Guzídah.
		432	1041	Módúd	Mohammed's 2nd reign, 4 months, Násirí. Módúd's accession, 432 (Shabán), Masaúdí; 432, Násirí, Abúl Faraj. Entry into Ghazní, 432 (23rd Shabán), Abúl Fedá. Accession, 434, Guzídah; 433, Khalásat al Akhbár, Ferishtah.
		440	1048	Masaúd II.........	Módúd's death, 441, Násirí, Abúl Faraj; 441 (Rajab), Abúl Fedá, Guzídah, Rauzat al Safá, Khalásat al Akhbár, Habíb al Saír.
		440	1048	Abúl Hasan Alí *Bahá al daulah*	Masaúd II. and Abúl Hasan Alí, length of reign, jointly, 2 months, Násirí. Masaúd II., 1 month, Guzídah, Habíb al Saír; 5 days, Tabakát Akberí; 6 days, Ferishtah. Abúl Hasan Alí, length of reign, 2 years, Guzídah, Khalásat al Akhbár; nearly 1 year, Habíb al Saír; 1 month, Tabakát Akberí.
		440	1048	Abdal Rashíd	Accession, 440, fixed from Coins; 441, Násirí, Abúl Faraj, Abúl Fedá; 443, Guzídah, Khalásat al Akhbár.
		444	1052	Toghral	444, Abúl Fedá.
		444	1052	Ferokhzád	Length of Toghral's rule, 40 days, Násirí, Khalásat al Akhbár, &c. Ferokhzád's accession, 443, Zí'l Kadah, Násirí.
		451	1059	Ibrahím	Accession, 451, Tárikh Masaúdí, Násirí, Abúl Fedá, Jenábí; 450, Guzídah, &c.
Al Moktadí beamerillah Died, 15 Muharrim, 487	467				
Al Mostazher billah ... Died, 16 Rabí Akhir, 512	487				
		492	1099	Masaúd III.	Ibrahím's death, 492, fixed from Coins, Násirí, Guzídah, Abúl Mahásan; 481, Abúl Fedá, Rauzat al Safá. See p. 280.
		508	1114	Shírzád .... *Kamál al daulah*	Guzídah, Jenábí, &c.
		509	1115	Arslán.................	Accession, 509, Násirí, Guzídah, &c.
Al Mostarshid billah ... Killed, 17 Zí'l Kadah, 529	512	512	1118	Bahrám	Capture and sack of Ghazní by Alá al dín Jehánsóz, 547.
Al Ráshid billah	529				
Al Moktafí leamerillah Inaug., 12 Zí'l Hajah, 530	530				
		547	1152	Khusrú	Accession, 552, Násirí; 544, Guzídah; 548, or 550, Abúl Fedá; 547, Akberí.
Al Mostanjed billah ...	555	555	1160	Khusrú Malik....	Khusrú Malik finally dispossessed of Ghazní by the Ghoríáns, 567, Ferishtah; forced to surrender at Lahór, 585, Rauzat al Safá; 583, Akberí; 582, Ferishtah.
The monthly dates in this column are taken from Abúl Faraj.					

It has been usual to consider as the Obverse of pure Mohammedan Coins that surface of the medal which bears the formulæ of لا اله الا الله &c.; this rule will be seen to have been adhered to, where circumstances would permit, in the following description of the Coins of Ghazní; but it is necessary to notice that, although the European custom of placing the Obverse or its representative on the left hand has been complied with generally in the engravings, it has been found necessary to reverse the usual practice in the printed transcript of the legends of the medals, as the nature of the language employed—being written from right to left—and the parallel juxtaposition of the contents of the Obverse and Reverse—which in many instances are intended to be run one into the other—rendered this arrangement almost imperative. It will be seen, however, that this has not in all cases sufficed to accomplish the end in view, as the die-cutters seem at times to have disregarded all attempts at uniformity, and to have considered their task fulfilled in the mere insertion of a given number of words, without much regard to the order in which they were required to be placed.

The type lines, which are occasionally to be found above the Arabic legends, are intended to mark that part of the word or sentence that is clearly legible, in contradistinction to what may be either doubtful or, in some cases, actually illegible. They have been adopted as less unsightly in their association with the type, and more consonant with Oriental practice than the brackets in use among Western nations to indicate restored passages.

It is to be observed that Roman numerals have been attached to those Coins of which engravings are to be found in the plates.

Table I. has been placed in its present position as being properly introductory in showing the order of succession of the Kings of the Dynasty and the several contemporary Khalífs. Tables II. and III., giving the summary of the dates and mint cities, are inserted at the conclusion of the description of the Coins which have furnished the results indicated.

DETAIL OF THE COINS.

ALPTEGIN.

No. 1.

Silver. Anderábeh? 347 A.H. Fræhn, Nov. Symb., p. 15.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
عبد الملك	الله وحده
البتكين	لا شريك له
وفتح قريب	نصر من الله
Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باندرابة سنة سبع واربعين وثلثماية

The following coins are noticed in this place as probably deriving their origin from a mint under the control of Alptegín; there are many arguments in favour of this classification, though it is not definitively adopted, as the pieces are wanting in the distinctive name of the chief in question, and the assignment now proposed is perhaps at variance with the requirements resulting from the acceptance of the reading of a medal, presenting many identical peculiarities given by Professor Fræhn, whose description of the coin is reproduced below.

It will be seen that the St. Petersburg Professor discerns the name of Bokhárá, as the place of mintage of the coin referred to, which identification, if correct, is slightly adverse to the attribution at present suggested: however, without directly impugning the decipherment

adopted by Professor Fræhn, the presumptions in support of the proposition above advanced may be briefly enumerated.

The first coin of the class now cited (letter A) has been assigned to Abdal Malik, the sixth Sámání[1]; that it was struck during his reign, and under his acknowledged auspices, there can be little doubt, but, as will appear from other specimens of analogous mintages, probably either in honour, or under the immediate influence, of an exalted officer of the State, if not actually *in* one of the chief cities of a provincial governor.

It is to be premised in entering on this discussion, that the quotation of نصر من الله وفتح قريب[2], which occupies the prominent portion of the area of one face of the coin, and will be seen to form the distinctive mark of the present series, is found on *none* of the other coins of any of the three several Emperors, whose names are recorded on the opposite surface of the medals now described. This peculiarity would in itself imply that the coins thus emblazoned, were separated from the other monies of these Princes, on account of some local or political cause hitherto unexplained, and were there no other unusual facts observable in regard to these pieces, this alone would induce an inquiry as to the possible design which originated this want of uniformity.

The first step in the present examination is, to fix with as much

[1] With a view to avoid textual recapitulation, and future references to the original authorities, a detail list of the Sámání Monarchs is here annexed:—

	Accession. A.H.	
1. Nasr bin Ahmed - - - -	261	
2. Ismaíl bin Ahmed - - - -	279	
3. Ahmed bin Ismaíl - - - -	295	*Safar*, Khalásat al Akhbár.
4. Nasr bin Ahmed - - - -	301	*Jumád al A'khir*, idem.
5. Núh bin Nasr - - - -	331	*Rajab*, idem.
6. Abdal Malik bin Núh - - -	343	*Rabí al A'khir*, Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá.
7. Mansúr bin Núh I. - - -	350	*Shawál.*
8. Núh bin Mansúr - - - -	366	Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá; 365 *Rajab*, Khalásat al Akhbár.
9. Mansúr bin Núh II. - - -	387	*Rajab*, Abúl Fedá and Khalásat al Akhbár.
10. Abdal Malik bin Núh - - -	389	*Safar*, Khalásat al Akhbár.
Eilek Khan enters Bokhárá - -	389	10 *Zí'l Kadah*, Násirí, &c.

11. Ismaíl bin Núh (Múntaser), killed in Rabí al Awal 395, Khalásat al Akhbár.

The months given generally indicate the date of the death of the preceding monarch, and do not always so accurately represent the time of the inauguration of the successor.

[2] "Assistance from God, and speedy victory." Korán, surah lxi. ver. 13.

precision as the materials will admit of, the period of time embraced in the issue of the various extant medals bearing the motto above referred to. This will be seen to extend from the sixth year of the reign of Abdal Malik, through that of Mansúr bin Núh I., to the early part at least of the domination of Núh bin Mansúr, or during the period included between the years 348 A.H., as proved by the St. Petersburg coin, and 366 A.H., the first year of the reign of the third of these monarchs.

The second condition in this investigation is to decide the locality in which the pieces in dispute received their stamp. The coin (A) has been asserted to have been struck at Bokhárá; all the others, which retain either the entire record or partial trace of the name of their mint city, disclose the whole or portions of the word Ferwán[1].

The last point to be determined is the identification of the individual who, on any other species of medal, may be found to have used the

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[1] فروان Vide Istakhrí (Moeller,) pp. 109, 112 Text, and Map صورة خراسان No. XVIII, p. 111. See also Persian MS. Mesálik wa Memálik, East India House Library, p. 91.

"The river of Penjhir runs through the town, (جاريانه), and passes from Jarianeh till it comes to فروان Ferouan, and so proceeds into Hindoostan.' Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 225.

" La ville de Carwan قروان est peu considérable, mais jolie; ses environs sont agréables, ses bazars fréquentés, ses habitants riches; les maisons y sont construites en argile et en briques. Située sur les bords de la rivière qui vient de Bendjehir بنجهير cette ville est l'un des principaux marchés de l'Inde." Geographie d'Edrisi, p. 476. Paris Edit. 1836.

Abulfedá, quoting Ibn Haukal and Abúl Majd Ismail al-Mósalí, also mentions فراوان (Feráwan) as a considerable town in the province of Bámián; vide p. 464 and 467, Géographie d'Aboulféda, Texte Arabe. Paris, 1840.

"Barwan," Ibn Batuta (Dr. Lee's Translation, pp. 97 and 98).

" Another route [from Balkh to Kábul] is that of Perwán. Between Perwán and the high mountain, there are seven minor passes, which they call the Heft-becheh (the seven younglings). As you come from the Anderáb side, two roads unite below the main pass, and lead down on Perwán by way of the Seven Younglings. This is a very difficult road." Erskine's Báber, p. 139.

" On the skirts of the hills [of Ghûrbend] there are some districts; in the upper part are Míteh, Kacheh, and Perwán." Idem, p. 146.

" A city of magnitude must have existed at Perwán, about eight miles, bearing north nineteen west from Bégrám. * * * Coins are discovered there in large quantities. * * * The site in Perwán is called by Máhomedans Merwán, and by Hindús Milwán." Masson, vol. III., p. 166.

motto of نصر من الله وفتح قريب. The only other reference to the numismatic employment of this quotation in Professor Fræhn's own voluminous works, points to the coin of Alptegín, No. 1 of this series.

These data having been disposed of, it becomes necessary to consider how far the direct historical, as well as the numismatically inferential testimony accords with the conclusion, which the last coincidence renders obvious, that the medals under review are in some way connected with Alptegín himself.

The undisputed coin of this Chief, No. 1, received its stamp in 347 A.H. The earliest coin of the present doubtful class was struck in the year following; the later pieces, (B) and (C), in 365; and the latest, (D), may, for the present, be inferred to have been coined in 366, or the first year of the rule of the Sovereign whose name it bears. The period, therefore, embraced in the issue of the various coins under notice, corresponds almost exactly with the time intervening between the prominent portion of the rise and the decease of Alptegín, which last event is variously placed in 365 and 366 A.H[1].

Regarding the geographical question involved in this inquiry, all written testimony unites in affirming, that the hill country encompassing Alptegín's new capital of Ghazní defied the attempts of the Sámánís towards its resubjection[2], and that Alptegín continued in effect absolute master of all the high ground south of the province of Balkh[3], from the time when his position at the Court of Bokhárá first became equivocal, on the accession of Mansúr bin Núh in 350 A.H., up to the

[1] The Guzídah does not notice the exact epoch of Alptegín's decease, though, in affirming that he held dominion in Ghazní for sixteen years, it in effect accepts the year 366. The Chronicle of Ibn Haidar (quoted by Wilken, "Mirchond Hist. Gaz.") also adopts sixteen years as the duration of this Chieftain's independent sway. The Rauzat al Safá does not give the date of the death of Alptegín with any precision, merely reporting that event as taking place shortly after the accession of Núh bin Mansúr, in Rajab 365 A.H. It will be seen, however, that there is reason to question this last date, as Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá assign the decease of Mansúr bin Núh I. to the year 366, instead of to 365, though Mirkhond's statement as regards the survival of Alptegín, and his consequent contemporaneous existence with Núh bin Mansúr, which is at present the real point at issue, tallies well with the other evidence. Jenábí most erroneously places even the first assumption of independent power by Alptegín so late as 366 (Dorn, Hist. Afgháns, Notes, p. 79). And Ferishtah, though he boldly affirms that this Chieftain died in 365, yet, in the very context of his narrative (351 Revolt + 15 years' reign = 366, and not 365; Briggs, vol. I. p. 13,) he conveys a palpable doubt as to the accuracy of his own definite assertion.

[2] Rauzat al Safá, History of Sámánís; Elphinstone, vol. I., p. 525.

[3] Alptegín would appear to have been unable to retain Anderábeh. See coins, No. 315, Fræhn Recensio; No. 39, Nov. Symb.; and No. 44, Num. Kuf.

date of his own death. Accepting the above statements as to the territorial possessions of Alptegín, they necessitate a conclusion, that in the year 365 A.H., when coins (B) and (C) were fabricated, Ferwán was in the hands of that chief. Such being the case, and adverting both to the mint customs in like cases, and the avowed attitude of defensive hostility assumed by Alptegín towards his quondam masters, it would be highly improbable, that the produce of the Ferwán Mint should be put forth unmarked by some record of the successful general, who then swayed the destinies of the rising empire of Ghazní.

In this point of view therefore, the appearance of the superscription of نصر من الله وفتح قريب, as denoting a reference to Alptegín, merely tallies with what is demanded by the probabilities of the case[1].

Having thus far brought under one view the earlier and the later coins bearing the motto of نصر من الله وفتح قريب, it is requisite to discriminate the alteration in Alptegín's position at the different epochs when these numismatic monuments were fabricated. At the time of the issue of the coin (A), Alptegín was the honoured and obedient vassal of his Sámání lord; as such, any mention of, or reference to, him on the money of the day must have been due to the sanction of his Suzerain, and the money disclosing such allusion would be expected to partake of the general characteristics of the current mintages; hence it is seen that these coins, though offering a most novel device in the reverse area, preserve on that side the usual marginal legend of لله الامر &c[2]. At the period of the coinage of

[1] It is pertinent to the matter in hand to observe, with reference to the peculiarly local characteristics of Mr. Masson's collection, already referred to, that in an accumulation of medals, numbering thousands, there are not ten *proper* coins of the Sámání Emperors—a race, occupying territory, the boundaries of which were immediately proximate to the country whence the present monuments were culled, and whose money is in other places so plentiful that the *published* notices alone of the partial contents of different European cabinets, admit of the possibility of the citation of a coin corresponding with nearly every single year of the domination of the family. This fact, though remarkable, is strictly in accordance with the inductions which should result from the testimony of *written* history, viz., that the pure Bokhárá Imperial money obtained but little currency in the hill country of Zábulistán prior to the conquest by Alptegín, and that after the fall of Ghazní to the arms of that Commander, the circulating medium was supplied from sources other than the mints of the Sámání dominions.

[2] Assuming that Professor Fræhn has not fallen into the very facile error of reading from a possibly worn coin the legend لله الامر &c., (Korán, surah xxx. ver. 4, 5,) in place of بما امريه, &c., of Coins (B), (C), and (D).

the later examples of this money, Alptegín was in the anomalous condition of a revolted Governor, who had actually conquered a new kingdom for himself, simultaneously retaining part of the territories of his late masters; and while he showed himself able and prepared to defend his appropriations, still rendered a nominal homage to the race of his ancient benefactors. Whether the altered record on the reverse margin of coins (B), (C), and (D), about to be noticed, is any indication of such a state of things, is perhaps not altogether beyond a doubt; but there appears on these later coins, a curiously dubious marginal legend[1], which might well be expected to emanate from a semi-recusant governor, who, although he acknowledges, in a way, the feudal supremacy of the successors of Abdal Malik, either cannot claim the permission of his legal Suzerain *to coin*, or will not compromise the dignity of his partially-perfected independence, by admitting that, the money bearing his own mark, and struck in one of his capital cities, was fabricated by order of the reigning Emperor; but who reverts to Nasr bin Ahmed for his authority to issue money; alluding probably to the first of the name, the prominent founder of the family to which his own allegiance was due, or, possibly referring to the fourth of the line of the same designation, the Nasr bin Ahmed under whose early patronage he himself must have been advanced the first step on the road to power[2].

If the proposed explanation of the meaning of the *Toghrá*, which forms the central ornament in the reverse area of these curious coins, is correct, the name of نوح Núh, may also be understood as expressive of a design to refer to another member of the Sámání family, the Núh bin Nasr, from whom Alptegín received the distinguished honour of the nomination to the command of the army.

[1] It is right to notice, though it is difficult to explain, the appearance of a seemingly similar *incomplete* marginal legend on a coin of Mansúr bin Núh, struck at Bokhárá 358 A.H. The inscription reads—

مما امربه الامير * * * بن احمد مولى امير المومنين

Fræhn, Die Münzen, &c., p. 51, pl. xiv., fig. 22.

[2] The notices of Alptegín's early history are naturally somewhat scanty; it seems to be admitted, however, that in his youth he was the slave of Ahmed bin Ismaíl, the third Sámání monarch. It is stated in the Táríkh Guzídah that, during the reign of Núh bin Nasr, he was promoted to the command of the Imperial Army:

(البتكين در زمان او راه امارت لشكر يافت)

Under Abdal Malik, he rose to be Governor of Khorásán, and on the elevation of Mansúr bin Núh I. to the throne of Bokhárá, in 350 A.H. he revolted, and erected a quasi-independent chieftainship at Ghazní.

ABD-UL-MELIK I. FILIUS NU'H I.

[A.] No. *269. N. ær. rariss. et notabilissim. cus. ibidem [Bocharæ] anno eodem [348] —— سان واربعين وثلثماية

In supr. A. I. ✡ infra autem فدكس

A. IIa. inscriptio artificiosius disposita. In medio denuo occurrit فدكس cinctum a لو (seu نو fort. ابو) quater repetito, extra quod

نصر من الله وفتح قريب

Auxilium a Deo (venit) *et victoria instans*, in orbem disposita sunt.

Marg. لله الامر &c.

[B.] Copper. Weight, gr. Ferwán. 365 A.H.

The name of Núh نوح four times repeated, radiating from the centre of the area, and forming a circle by a curious distribution of the final ح together with the motto

نصر من الله وفتح قريب

disposed in the shape of a square in the four compartments.

Marg. مما امربه الامير نصر بن احمد مولى امير المومنين[1]

الله

محمد

رسول الله

منصور بن نوح

فتح

Marg. بسم الله ضر الفلس بفروان سنة خمس وستين وثلثماية

A second coin, weight 38 gr., apparently the produce of the same dies, exhibits the words بفروان quite distinctly.

[1] This reading is confirmed by the marginal legends of *four* specimens of coins similar to the above.

[C.] Copper. Weight, 46·7 gr. Ferwán. 365 A.H. British Museum.

Area as above [B.]	**Area as above [B.]** **But without the word** فتح
Marg. مما امربه الامير نصر بن احمد مولى امير المومنين	**Marg.** بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بفروان[1] سنة خمس وستين وثلثماية

[1] The name of the mint city is nearly obliterated.

[D.] Copper. Weight, 36 gr. Unique.

Area. **As above [B.]**	**Area.** — || محمد || رسول الله || نوح بن منصور
Marg. ——بة الامير نصر بن احمد مو——	**Marg. Illegible.**

SABAKTAGIN*.

No. II.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Ferwán. 380 A.H. C.

Rev.	Obv.
• لله	∴ ه
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله نوح بن	الله وحده
منصور	لا شريك له
سبكتكين	الطايع لله
* ر • ر	• ر
Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره على الد [ين]	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بفروان سنة ثمانين وثلثماية

* The subjoined account of the succession to Alptegín's Chieftainship is given entire from the Tabakát Násiri, as offering a version of the question to which it refers, widely differing from that to be found in the writings of the more generally known Authors; and although there are many objections to the unqualified admission of its verity, yet the Násirí's undoubted antiquity and usual accuracy entitle the statement to full consideration.

چون ايالت خراسان بالبتگين حواله شد امير سبكتگين
بخدمت او بود چون البتگين بعد از حوادث ايام بغزنين افتاد
و ممالك زوالستان فتح كرد و غزنين از دست انوك[1] بيرون
كردند و امير البتكين بعد از هشت سال برحمت حق پيوست
پسر او اسحاق بجاي پدر بنشست و بانوك مصاف كرد[2] و هزيمت
افتاد و ببخارا رفت بخدمت امير منصور نوح ايشانرا مدد

فرمود تا باز آمد و غزنین بگرفت و بعد از یکسال اتفاق در
گذشت ملکاتکین را[3] مهتر ترکان بود بامارت بنشاندند و او
مرد عادل و متقی بود از مبارزان جهان ده[4] سال در امارت
بود و درگذشت و امیر سبکتکین بخدمت او بود و بعد از
ملکاتکین[5] امیر نری[6] بامارت بنشست و او مرد مفسد عظیم
بود جاعتی از غزنین نزدیک ابو علی انوک چیزی نبشتند[7] اورا
استدعا کردند ابو علی انوک پسر شاه کابلرا بمدد آورد چون
در حد جرخ[8] رسیدند امیر سبکتکین با پانصد ترک برایشان
زد و ایشانرا بشکست و خلق بسیاررا بسیاررا بکشت و اسیر
کرد و دو[9] پیل بگرفت و بغزنین آورد و چون چنین فتحی
بردست او برامد همکنان از فساد پری[6] سیر آمده بودند
باتفاق امیر سبکتکین را بامارت بغزنین بنشاندند در هفتم[10]
شعبان سنه ست و ستین و ثلثمایه

Persian MS. Tabakát Násirí, E. I. House Library, No. 1952.

This MS. is "*said to have been copied by the Author.*" Vide Stewart's Catalogue. A second more modern copy of this work, in the possession of the Rev. W. Cureton, has the following deviations from the above reading:—No. [1] امیر لویک

No. [2] بالویک جنگ کردند No. [3] بلکابکین را and [5] بلکاتکین

No. [4] دو No. [6] پیری No. [7] لویک چیزی نوشتند

No. [8] جرخ No. [9] ده No. [10] بست هفتم

No. 3.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr. 382 A.H.

Legends in Areas similar to No. II. Mint marks, Obv. س and Rev. س ر .

Obv. Marg.

بسم الله ضربهذا الدرهم . . . سنة اثن وثمانين وثلثماية

A nearly analogous Coin has on the Obv. Marg.

—— هذا الدرهم بفروان سنة اثنيو or اثناو ——

No. 4.

Silver. Weight, 43·5 gr. Ferwán. 383 A.H. British Museum.

Areas similar to No. II. Mint marks ر ف.

Obv. Marg. —— بفروان سنة ثلث و ثمانين و ثلثماية

No. 5.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. (3)84 A.H.

Areas similar to No. II. Mint marks at the foot of the legends ر ف.

Obv. Marg. —— سنة اربع و ثمانين و ——

A corresponding Coin has —— رهم بفروان سنة اربع و ——

In Coins of the three last classes the Rev. Marginal legend usually ends with ليظهره.

No. 6.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	ه
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله نوح بن	الله وحده
منصور	لا شريك له
الطايع لله	سبكتكين
ف ر	ف ر

Margins illegible.

ISMAIL.

No. VII.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr. V. R.

Rev.	Obv.
• لله •	• ه •
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله منصور	الله وحده
بن نوح	لا شريك له
اسمعيل	الطايع لله
ف ر ر	ف ر ر
Marg. Illegible.	**Marg.** Worn, illegible.

On the Rev. Marg. of one of Ismáil's Coins is to be seen the commencement of the usual symbol محمد رسول الله &c.

MAHMUD.

No. VIII.

Gold. Weight, 76·8 gr. Níshápúr. 385 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.

الله

محمد رسول الله

الطايع لله]

الملك المنصور

نوح بن منصور

Marg. محمد رسول الله

ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق

ليظهره على الدين كله

ولو كره المشركون

Mohammed, the Apostle of God, whom he sent with instruction and the true faith, that he might exalt it above all other creeds, even though Unbelievers be adverse thereto.—Korán, surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له ✝

ابو لجا[1] سيف

الدولة محمود

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدينار بنيسابور سنة خمس

وثمانين وثلثماية

Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل

ومن بعد ويوميذ يفرح

المومنون بنصر الله

Dominion, both past and future, is of God, and in *that* day the Faithful shall rejoice in the aid of the Lord.—Korán, surah xxx. 4, 5.

[1] لجا an Asylum.

No. IX.

Gold. Weight, 57·3 gr. Níshápúr. 390 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.	Obv.
لله محمد رسول الله الامير السيد يمين الدولة و امين ا لملة ابو القسم ولي امير المومنين	عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القادر بالله ع
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة تسعين و ثلثماية Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 10.

There is a second Gold Coin in the British Museum, in weight 77·4 grains, similar in every respect to the above, with the exception of the ع on the Obverse, which is placed on the right of the field, instead of being at the foot of the legend, as in the specimen just described.

No. 11.

Gold. Níshápúr. 400 A.H. Fræhn's Recensio, p. 142.

Rev.

لله
محمد
رسول الله
يمين الدولة
و امين الملة

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Obv.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القادر بالله

Marg. int. As No. IX., with
سنة اربع ماية ——

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. XII.

Gold. Weight, 62·3 gr. Níshápúr. 401 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.

لله
محمد
يمين رسول الله الدولة
القادر بالله
ولى عهده
الغالب بالله

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Obv.

عدل
امين لا اله الا الله الملة
وحده لا شريك له
ابو القاسم

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا
الدينار بنيسابور سنة احدي
واربعماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 13.

A second Gold Coin, of the like date and place of mintage, varies in the disposition of the inscription: the usual short symbol occupying the whole of the Obverse area, the Reverse area containing the acknowledgment of the mission of Mohammed, the designation of the Khalif and his successor elect (excluding the words (ولى عهده), as well as the three titles of Mahmúd himself, the يمين الدولة and the امين الملة being placed one on each side of the rest of the legend. The word مائة is wanting in the record of the date.

No. 14.

Gold. Weight, 60 gr. Herát. 395 A.H.

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

يمين الدولة

و امين الملة

ابو القاسم

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

القادر بالله

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بهراة سنة خمس و تسعين و ثلثماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 15.

Gold. Weight, 65 gr. Herát. 401 A.H. Masson.
Gold. Weight, 50 gr. Herát. 401 A.H. British Museum.

Similar to Coin No. 14, but imperfect in the exterior Margin of Obverse, the word المومنو wanting the final ن.

No. 16.

Gold. Weight, 56 gr. Herát. 411 A.H. *Lady Macnaghten.*

Differs slightly from No. 14, in the absence of عدل in the Obverse, and in the initial محمد in the Reverse standing in a line by itself; the concluding ابو القسم being reduced in size to meet the thus increased demand for space.

No. 17.

Gold. Weight, 65 gr. Herát. 413 A.H.

As No. 14; but the exterior Margin of the Obverse is perfect.

No. 18.

Gold. Weight, 63 gr. Herát. 414 A.H.

Ornamental Kufic; otherwise similar to No. 14.

No. 19.

Gold. Weight, 77 gr. Nishápúr. 407 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القادر بالله	الله وحده
ولي عهده	لا شريك له
الغالب بالله	ابو القسم
يمين الدولة	
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة سبع واربعماية
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 20.

Gold. Weight, 57 gr. Níshápúr. 409 A.H. Dr. Swiney.

Similar to No. 19, except that in the Obverse ابو القسم and وسلم are wanting.

No. XXI.

Gold. Weight, 59 gr. 4 A.H. British Museum.**

Rev.

الله

محمد

رسول الله

القادر بالله

مسعود

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا

الله يمين الدو

لة و امين الملة

ابو القاسم

محمود

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدينار ——— سنة ———

اربعماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

A Coin apparently struck by Masaúd, while acting as a local Sovereign, during the lifetime of his Father, Mahmúd.

A.H. 407. "Returning to Bulkh, Mahmood gave the government of Hirat to his son, the Prince Ameer Musaood."

A.H. 418. "He conferred the Government of Rye and Isfahan on his son, the Prince Musaood."

Briggs's Ferishtah, Vol. I.

No. XXII.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
• لله •	
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله منصر	الله وحده
بن نوح	لا شريك له
سيف الدولة	الطايع لله
محمود	ق ر

Margins. Worn, illegible.

On one specimen is seen محمد رسول الله

This Coin must be inferred to have been struck in or after the year 387 A.H., or the year in which Munsúr bin Núh II. ascended the throne of Bokhárá.

No. 23.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
الامير السيد	لا شريك له
يمين الدولة	القادر بالله
محمود	

Margins. Illegible.

No. 24.

Silver. Weight, 36 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
محمد رسول الله	عدل
يمين الدولة وا	لا اله الا الله
مين الملة محمود	وحده لا شريك له
بن سبكتكين	القادر بالله
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. Imperfect.
بعد و يومئذ يفرح	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم

No. 25.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. (3)95 A.H. C.

Rev.	Obv.
* لله *	عدل
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله يمين الدو	الله وحده
لة و امين الملة	لا شريك له
محمود	القادر بالله
	يميني
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. سنة خمس … وتسعين و

The Obverse Margins of two similar Coins exhibit the words الدرهم بغزنه سنة

Different specimens have respectively the letters ع ك س below the عدل on Obverse.

No. XXVI.

Silver. Weight, 76 gr. Níshápúr? 399 A.H. Large Coin.

Rev.	Obv.
❀	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
يمين الدولة	وحده لا شريك له
و امين الملة	القادر بالله ولي
ابو القسم يميني	عهد الغالب
س	بالله
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5. Legible.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
لله الامر من ———— ح	الدرهم بنيسابور سنة تسع
المومنون بنصر الله	وتسعين وثلثماية

No. XXVII.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. C.

Rev.	Obv.
* o *	يميني
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القادر بالله	الله وحده
يمين الدولة	لا شريك له
محمود	ص د
Marg. لله الامر من قبل	Marg. سنة تسع ————
ويومئذ يفرح المومنون ———	وتسعين وثلثم———
بنصر (الله)	

Another Coin discloses on its Obverse Margin the words

ضرب هذا الدرهم بغزنة سنة خمس

No. 28.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr.

Similar legends to No. XXVII., with monogram انذراب at the top; and يميني at the bottom of Obverse; and Monogram { عدل / لله } at the top of the Reverse Area.

No. 29.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr.

REV.	OBV.
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	فروان
القادر بالله	لا اله الا
يمين الدولة	الله وحده
محمود	لا شريك له
	يميني
Marg. Composed of thin straggling letters, utterly illegible.	Marg. —— والين سنة —— خمس و ——

Wálin معدن والين

مسافات مدن بلخ ‖ من بلخ الى خلم يومان ثم الى والين يومان

Istakhrí (Mœller), p. 112.

See also Map (Idem) No. XVIII. صورة خراسان.

مسافات شهر بلخ ‖ از بلخ تا خلم دو روزه و از خلم تا والين دو روزه

Persian Memálik wa Mesálik, p. ٩٢. See also Map, p. ٩٣.

"From Balkh to Khulum, two days' journey; from Khulum to Valein والين, two days' journey." Ouseley's Orient. Geog., p. 230.

"On compte au nombre des dépendances de cette dernière province (le Badakchan (بدخشان) les villes de خلم, وروالين, &c. De Balkh à Warwalin, ville agréable et commerçante, dont dépendent divers villages, 2 journées. De Warwalin à Talecan (طالقان), 2 journées. De Balkh à Houlm, ville située à 2 journées à l'ouest de Warwalin, on a 2 journées de chemin à faire." Edrisi (Jaubert), pp. 474, 475.

The above identification is proposed without any great amount of confidence, as the orthography of the name of the city whose position is here indicated, varies to a more than usual degree of uncertainty, inasmuch as the facsimile MS. of Istakhrí, in four repeated references to the town in question, gives no less than the same number of discordant readings, viz., p. 109, روالين: idem, وروالين; p. 112, ورالين; and Map No. XVIII. واليان, or possibly ماليان.

The East India House Persian MS. Mesálik wa Memálik also exhibits discrepancies in the mode in which the name is written, having in one place روالين; and on two subsequent occasions والين. The same may be said of Ouseley's translation, which is made from *other* MSS. of the same work, and which affords the several examples of زوالين, p. 223 and 224; and والين, p. 230. Ibn Hankal[1] openly avows a difficulty as to the correct mode of expressing the name, writing وروالين or وروالين. And finally, as will be seen from the above extract, the French Translation of Edrisi gives the word as وروالين. Abúl Fedá has no notice of the place.

A more serious objection, however, presents itself to the admission of the correctness of the locality suggested, in the fact of the dissimilarity observable between the form and fabric of the Coin itself, and the general characteristics displayed by the Balkh money, which last is seen to be uniformly a thin broad piece, whereas the two Coins, Nos. 29 and 64, upon which the whole, or the major portion, of the doubtful name is found, partake of the character of the more common types of the narrow Ghazní currency, and if any faith is to be placed in such indications, would necessitate a search for their place of coinage somewhat nearer the capital, or, at all events, in a province whose monetary types assimilated more closely to the produce of the

[1] MS. Bibl. Bodl., No. 538. Hunt.

metropolitan mint. As such, the name of Málín مالين[1] might claim consideration, as corresponding in its component letters with what remains of the Kufic word on the margin of No. 29. There are, however, no recognized Herát silver coins, whence a judgment might be formed as to the identity of style; so that no valid argument could be raised on that ground. Moreover, the orthography of Málín, like that of Wálín, is open to much question, as, in addition to the two different modes of pronunciation to which the name is liable, as noticed by Abúl Fedá, it is written by both Istakhrí and Edrisí مالن. However, whatever might be said regarding the admissibility of the adoption of Málín as the place of fabrication of the one Coin, No. 29, the same can by no means be extended to the piece No. 64, the initial letter of the monetary city of which, can never be read as a *Mim* م, or other than one of the three letters ف ق or و.

An identification which seems to meet more satisfactorily the various numismatic requirements, though it is opposed by the demands of absolute exactitude of *literal* uniformity, is suggested by some casual references made by more modern writers, which tend to show that there must have been a town, or certainly a fort, of a very similar denomination to that to be found on the Coins, either in or near the Hills, somewhere proximately northward of Ferwán. An indication of this locality is furnished by Mirkhond, who mentions the siege of the fortress of Wálíán واليان by the generals of Jengiz Khán[2], which castle appears from the context to be identifiable with the place alluded to by Báber in the following sentence:—"There are besides three roads in Ghúrbend; that which is nearest to Perwân is the pass of the Yangi-yuli (the new road), which descends by Waliân and Khinjan[3]." This last position is marked in many of the later maps; and one of the neighbouring passes to this day retains its name of Wálíán, though in the hands of modern geographers it would seem to have been corrupted into Gwalian.

[1] مالين من امل هراة ——— واهل هراة يقولون مالان

Abúl Fedá, p. 456.

[2] See Rauzat al Safá, History of Jellál al din Khwárizmí; also Price, from Khalásat al Akhbár, Vol. II. p. 410.

[3] Erskine's Báber, p. 139.

No. 30*.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

Area as No. XXVII., with ابو القسم at the top.

Area as in No. XXVII.
Monograms عدل
ع
يميني

Margins. Illegible.

No. 31*.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Rev.

محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
يمين الدولة
محمود

Obv.

عدل
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
يميني

Margins. Illegible.

No. 32*.

A similar Coin, with the monogram فروان inserted between the عدل and الله at the top of the Obverse, as in No. 29.

No. 33.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

Legend as in Reverse, No. 31; but the امين الملة is to the left of the rest of the inscription.

Monogram, *supra*, الله; *infra*, ذ.

Legend as in Obverse, No. 31, with the addition of the word نقر, possibly نقد, on the right of the field.

No. 34.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Reverse, three lines, as in No. 31; but the second title is placed thus—

وامين محمود الملة

Monograms, *supra*, الله ㅇ الله

Obverse as No. 31.

No. 35*.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Reverse. The same inscription as in No. XXVII.; but with the محمود at the top of the field, and امين الملة at the bottom.

Obverse. The same as No. 31.

No. XXXVI.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. Ghazní. 401 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	عدل
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
القادر بالله	لا شريك له
محمود	يميني
Marg. Composed of Bosses and الله alternating.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب بغزنة سنة احدي و اربع ماية

---

* Many of these several classes of small silver Coins have mere careless imitations of the usual marginal inscriptions, such as obviously could never have been intended to be legible, the scroll between the parallel circles being at times made up solely by the repetition of certain characters that may be taken to represent the word سنة, and in other instances filled in with a confused jumble of consecutive masses of the common form of ⊥ interspersed with an occasional ة or م.

No. 37.

Silver. Weight, 75 gr.

Reverse. Broad Area, with the legend

محمد رسول الله القادر بالله
يمين الدولة وامين الملة

Marg. Narrow; inscription illegible.

Obverse. Small Area, legend as in No. XXXVI.

Marg. As the *Reverse* Margin of No. XXXVI.

No. 38.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

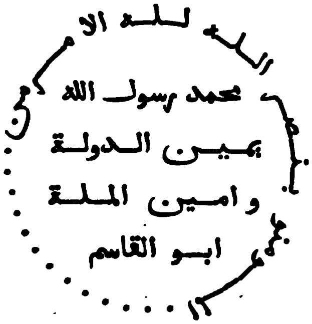
A Coin similar to No. XXXVI., having *both* Margins composed of bosses and الله alternating.

No. 39.

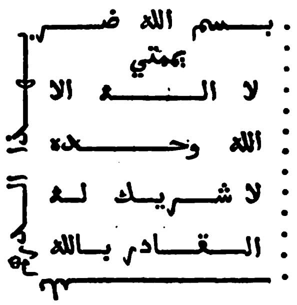
Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

In this Coin the accustomed marginal legends are disposed around the field, and are not separated from the body of the inscription by the usual lines.

REV.



OBV.



No. 40.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. Balkh. 411 A.H. Broad Coin (ornamental Kufic).

Rev.

لله
محمد
رسول الله
القادر بالله
يمين الدولة
ابو القسم

Marg. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويوميذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

Obv.

عدل
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ببلخ سنة احد عشر و اربع ماية

No. 41.

Silver. Weight, 56 gr. Níshápúr. 414 A.H. Broad Coin. Dr. Swiney.

Rev.

لله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
يمين الدولة
و امين الملة

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Obv.

The usual Symbol in three lines.

Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بنيسابور سنة اربع عشر واربعماية

No. XLII.

Silver. Weight, 45·4 gr. Unique.

Rev.

بالله
لا الـــه الا الله
محمد رسول الله
يمين الدولة
محمود
وامين الملة

القادر

Obv.

श्री वृकुसेन SRI VRIKUSEN
मह्मृद अ MRĂHĂMRID Ă
महर नृव MĂHĂRĂNRIVĂ
महमूद MĂHĂMŪD

Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهـــم واريهاية

Marg. संवत ४१२ अयटन महमूद
SĂMVĂT 412 ĂYĂTĂN MĂHĂMŪD

ANALYSIS OF THE SANSKRIT LETTERS.

No. 1, श्री *Srí*; possibly अ *a*. 2, वृ *Vri* of the seventh century; or पृ *pri* of the ninth. 3, कु *ku* of the fifth century (Allahabad Inscription); the Kashmírí *ku* of the present day differs but little from this form. 4, से *se* of the fifth century; or मे *me* of the seventh. 5, न *n* of the ninth century (see Kutila Inscription); possibly either भ *bh* or क *k* of the same century. 6, म्र *Mr*. 7, ह *h* of the fifth century; possibly ड *ḍ* of the ninth. 8, मृ *mri*; or मु *mu*: in this latter the उ *u* might be objected to, but it is the form in use on the Gupta Coins, and there is no saying how long it may have remained in partial use (see Plate XIX., Vol. VII., Journ. As. Soc., Bengal). 9, द *d*. 10, अ *a*. 11, म *m?* 12, ह *h*; or ञ *ñ*, fifth century: the letter corresponding to the modern palatal ञ has not been identified in the Kutila Inscription. 13, र *r*. 14, नृ *nri*; or ञु *ñu*. 15, व *v*. 16, म *M?* 17, ह *h*. 18, मू *mū*. 19, द *d*.

Margin. No. 20, स *S*; or म *M*. 21, व *v*. 22, उ *u*, ninth century: a letter of the same shape answers at the present day for a त *t* in the Punjábí alphabet (*vide* Carey's Grammar); accepting this last rendering, the first three marginal letters might be taken as intended to represent the word संवत *Samvat*. 23, ४ 4. 24, १ 1: the character to be seen on the Coin assimilates closely to the form of an ancient Kashmírí 1, given in Plate XX., Vol. VII., Journ. As. Soc., Bengal; and the modern form of the numeral varies only from these in the junc-

tion of the ends of the figure. 25, २ 2; the Devanagari 2 of the tenth century is but little dissimilar to the unit figure on the Coin, which latter might, however, be read as an र *r*, but that it differs so much from the *r* in the body of the Inscription. 26, अ *a*; or श्री *sri*. 27, य *y*. 28, ट *ṭ* of fifth century. 29, न *n*; or क *k*. 30, म *M*. 31, ह *h*. 32, मु *mú*. 33, द *d*.

No. XLIII.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. Ghazní. 411 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
صلى الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
القادر بالله	نظام الدين
يميني	س محمود ب
Marg. يمين الدولة ———	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
——— و امين الملة	الدرهم بغزنة سنة احدى عشر
	واربع ماية

A Coin, in the possession of Lady Macnaghten, exhibiting generally similar characteristics to the above, has the Obverse Margin occupied by the words الدرهم بغزنة سنة (expressed in most accurately formed letters) five times repeated. The Reverse Margin is filled up with a like reiteration of the words مما امر به

No. XLIV.

Silver. Weight, 38 gr. Ghazní. 411 A.H. *Lady Macnaghten.*

Similar in shape and legend to No. XLIII., with the exception of the name of Mahmúd, the letters of which are curiously impressed in intaglio, instead of being raised like the rest of the inscription.

The Reverse Monogram يميني is correctly formed on this specimen; but the Mint marks on the Obverse are altogether omitted.

Much of the Obverse marginal legend, given at length under No. 35, is traceable, and the Reverse Margin displays the outline of the following words—

مما امر به الملك الملك يمين الدولة و ———

No. 45.

Silver. Weight, gr. Balkh. 412 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
	ع
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــــه الا
يمين الدولة نظام	الله وحـــــده
الدين ابو القسم	لا شـــريـــك لـه
محمود	القادر بالله
Marg. لله الامر من قـبـل و مـن بعد و يومئذ يـفـرح المومنون ——	Marg. —— رهم ببلخ سـنـة اثني عشر و اربع ماية

No. XLVI.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. 414 A.H.

Legends in both Areas as in No. 45.

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. —— اربع عشر واربعماية

No. 47.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. 419 A.H. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	القادر
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــه الا الله
الـــقـــادر بـــالله	محمد رسول الله عدل
يمـــين الـــدولـة	نـــظـــام الـــدين
محمود	ابو القسم
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. بسم ا —— نور سنة تسع عشر واربعماية

No. XLVIII.

Silver. Weight, 63 gr. Sejistán[1]. Broad Coin.

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

يمين الدولة

و امين الملة نظام

الدين ابو القاسم

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له

القادر بالله

يميني

Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدرهم بسجستان سنة ———

واربع ماية

[1] Zaranj; called also Sejistán, as capital of the province of that name; the Dooshak or Jellalabad of the modern maps.—See Edrisi, p. 431 and 432. Abúl Feda has the following:—

زرنج قصبة سجستان قال ابن حوقل وزرنج مدينة كبيرة من سجستان قال وقد يطلق علي زرنج نفسها سجستان

Texte Arabe, p. ٣٤٣.

"Zaranj, Capital of Sejistán. Ibn Haukul said Zaranj is a large city of Sejistán; and it is further said that (the name of) Sejistán is applied to Zaranj itself."

For examples of the numismatic use of the name in this sense see Coins of Harún al Rashíd, Nos. 135*, 136*, p. 11*, and 145*, p. 13*, Frӕhn's Recensio.

The Táríkh Masaúdí quotes the following authorized detail of Mahmúd's titles in a copy of a Missive from the Khalif Al Káim be amerillah to Masaúd, in which the *recognised* designations of the latter's father are thus given at full length—

نظام الدين كهف الاسلام والمسلمين يمين الدولة وامين الملة ابى القاسم ولى امير المومنين

With the single exception of the كهف الاسلام والمسلمين, all these several titles are to be found on the Coins above described.

No. 49.

Silver. Weight, 26 gr. Small Coin.

REV.	OBV.
	الله
ملك	محمد
الملوك	رسول الله
يميني	يمين الدولة
Marg. int.	Marg. — الملك المالك —
— مالك يمين الدولة —	
Marg. ext. Illegible.	

No. 50.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. (Apparently of the Balkh fabric.) 421 A.H. Broad Coin.

REV.	OBV.
الله	عدل
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
عليه السلم	لا شريك له
محمود	القادر بالله
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. — الله ضرب هذا
	الدرهم — في ربيع الاول
	سنة احد و عشرين واربعماية

Rabí al Awal ربيع الاول

No. 51.

Silver. **Weight, 53·5 gr.** **Balkh.** **421 A.H.** **Large Coin.** **British Museum.**

Areas as in No. 50.

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	**Marg.** ——— ضرب هذا الدرهم ببلخ لجماد الاول سنة احدي وعشرين واربعماية

*Dir*hem, at Balkh, in Jumád al Awal, the year

[illegible]

هم ببلخ لجماد الاول سنة

No. 52.

Silver. **Weight, 60 gr.** **Small Coin.**

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد	لا اله الا الله
رسول الله	وحده لا شريك
عليه السلم	له القادر بالله
محمود	— الاول
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	**Marg.** بسم ——— احدي و عشرين و اربعماية

No. 53.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. Small Coin.

Rev.	Obv.
ن لله ن	ع الاول
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
عليه السلم	لا شريك له
* محمود *	ف
Marg. int. ——— لله الامر من قبل	Marg. ——— بغزنه سنة ا ———
Marg. ext. Dots?	

The above Coins present too many novel peculiarities to admit of their being passed over in silence, though the mutilated state of the more important portions of each, as well as a corresponding deficiency of unquestioned historical data, may render any deductions on the subjects embraced somewhat inconclusive. Still, whatever may be the correct reading of the abraded parts of the several legends, two points at least evidence a departure from the uniform practice prevailing in previous mintages:—Firstly, the inscription of Mahmúd's sole *untitled* name; and, secondly, the insertion of an unusual additional detail, intimating what would seem to be the name of the *month*, as well as the accustomed record of the *year* of issue.

These two remarkable indications are found in concurrence (in the three most legible Coins) with a notification, purporting that the medals themselves were struck in the year 421 A.H., the early part of which witnessed the decease of the Monarch whose name they bear. There are but two of the four specimens (Nos. 50, 51) that retain a sufficiently clear impression of those portions of the legends it is sought to decipher, to permit an approach to a satisfactory conjecture as to their original intent and purport; and these severally disclose the worn and imperfect outline of the characters which represent the names of the Arabic months of Rabí al Awal and Jumád al

Awal[1], or the third and fifth months of the Mohammedan year, located on the margins of the Coins immediately preceding the annual date.

The two smaller Coins (Nos. 52, 53) display on their Obverse surfaces, in the spaces generally devoted to the reception of monograms, the same concluding and distinguishing word الاول, together with traces of what probably once stood for ربيع.

Whatever may have become the custom in after times among Mohammedan nations in regard to the inscription of the months of the year in which Coins were fabricated, their unprecedented appearance on the pieces under notice, as well as their immediate subsequent disuse, taken as isolated facts, can only be supposed to point to an intention of fixing, with more than usual precision, the moment of the issue of the Coins thus marked, and, as such, to advert to some prominent epoch in the history of the race by whom they were put forth. Now, as the periods inscribed closely coincide with the supposed date of Mahmúd's death, the question naturally suggests itself, Were not these moneys in some way connected with this event?

In addition to the default of sufficient numismatic data, the difficulty of arriving at any correct estimate of the design attending the production of these medals, is much enhanced by a co-existent doubt as to the precise month in which Mahmúd died; and, consequently, as to whether these pieces are to be recognised as the latest record of his life, commemorative medals struck in his honour after his decease, or the mere mechanical continuance of the use of his name by the mint officials.

This last suggestion seems to be at once negatived by the appearance of purpose to be detected in the singular changes already noticed; the question is therefore narrowed to the consideration of the two remaining possible explanations.

[1] In concluding that the doubtful letters on the Margin of Coin No. 51 represent the name of a month—and looking to their position immediately following the record of the mint city, and preceding the year of the date, they cannot well be taken to import anything else—it is to be conceded that, setting aside the worn state of the writing, the expression of the words is by no means perfect, the في being abbreviated to ف (which, however, is not unusual in MS.), and the ا of جمان in its present shape would more accurately perform the function of an ي, or any other of the convertible letters for which the Kufic medial ـلـ stands sponsor, rather than the ا, which the context seems to require.

The balance of written testimony greatly preponderates in favour of the assignment of the 23rd of Rabí al A'khír[1] as the date of the death of Mahmúd; at the same time, the event is variously reported by different authors as having taken place on one of the three following dates—11th Safar[2], 13th Rabí al Awal[3], or even so late as Jumád al Awal[4].

The second and third of these four epochs are the only periods that are not at variance with the idea of a posthumous character attaching to the Coins under review; and there is clearly too little reliance to be placed upon the authorities citing these dates, to justify a rejection in their favour of the statements of more esteemed writers, to meet the wants of a theory so incomplete in numismatic proofs as the one now discussed. Indeed, if the apparently conclusive testimony

[1] و در آن هفته بخواست رفت روز شنبه ده روز مانده بود
از جمادي الاولي سنة احدي و عشرين و اربعماية ناگاه خبر رسيد
كه پدرش امير محمود رضي الله عنه گذشته شد و حاجب بزرگ
علي قريب در پيش كارست و در وقت سواران مسرع رفتند
پس كتابت ملطفه خود بمن انداخت گفت بخوان بازكردم
خط عمتش بود حرّه ختلي نبشته بود كه خداوند ما سلطان
محمود نمازديگر روز پنجشنبه هفت روز مانده بود از ربيع الاخر
گذشته شد

MS. تاريخ مسعودي Bib. du Roi, Paris.

The following authorities also cite Rabí al A'khir as the period of Mahmúd's decease:—Abúl Fedá, Annales Muslemici (Reisk), Vol. III. p. 76; Rauzat al Safá (Wilken), p. 231; Habíb al Sair, MS., No. 17, East India House; Akberí, MS., East India House; Ferishtah (Briggs), Vol. I. p. 84.

[2] Ibn Haidar, quoted by Wilken, Hist. Gaz., p. 227.

[3] واقعه مذكوره در روز پنجشنبه سيزدهم ربيع الاول سنة احدي
و عشرين و اربعماية روي نمود
تاريخ نگارستان. Lithographed at Bombay, in 1829.

[4] Quoted by De Guignes, Vol. I. p. 240, and Vol. II. p. 170.

The Násirí, Abúl Faraj, and the Guzídah fail in mentioning the month in which Mahmúd died.

of the Táríkh Masaúdí is entitled to the credit its circumstantial detail and high antiquity seem to demand, this class of Coins can only be taken to have originated with Mahmúd himself, though, in all likelihood, only late in his career; and that having been thus introduced into use, the Balkh mint continued to fabricate the like species of money—with altered monthly dates to meet the progress of time—up to the period of the receipt of the intelligence of the decease of Mahmúd at Ghazní, or possibly until the full inauguration of his successor[1]. In arriving at this conclusion, it is necessary to consider the causes of the subsequent discontinuance of the insertion of monthly dates. This may be explained by the supposition—fully justified by their respective medals—that Mahmúd interested himself in the mint arrangements of his dominions, thereby insuring an advanced state of excellence in the details of his coinage, whereas Masaúd[2], to judge by the results, paid but little attention to the fashion of his money, and disregarded the omission of the more exact record of the date introduced by his father.

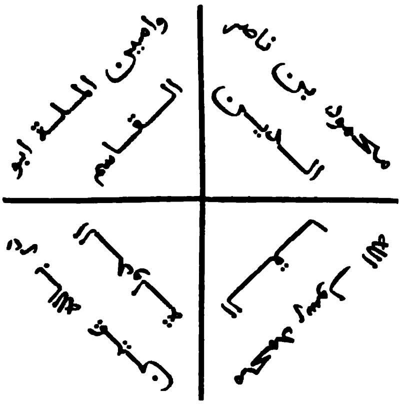
It is less easy to account satisfactorily for the motives which led to the first monetary change already described. That Mahmúd may at the last moment have affected humility, and refrained from the employment of all titular distinctions, is just possible, but by no means probable, considering his admitted and proved partiality to the use of titles of honour, and the fact that the closing acts of his life—the contemplation of his boundless treasures, and the review of the splendid equipments of his powerful army—savour strongly of still-surviving vanity. It may be doubted whether the seeming humility implied in the disuse of honorary titles, may not have been in reality the result of an increased degree of pride, which imagined, and with fair reason, that so great a name as that of the Conqueror of India required no titular adjuncts.

[1] It may assist in the due determination of the value of the above suggestion to note that, at Mahmúd's death, there was not only a disputed succession, but that at the moment, both Mohammed and his brother Masaúd were absent from the capital—and equally so from Balkh, the mint city wherein the Coin No. 50, if not 51, was struck—the one brother being in Jurján, the other near Hamadán; and that it was not until a certain interval after the decease of Mahmúd that Mohammed was elevated to the throne at Ghazní: the exact duration of this interval is not stated. Vide Ferishtah (Briggs), Vol. I. p. 93.

[2] It would be useless to speculate on the almost unique Coin of Mohammed (No. LVII.)

No. LIV.

Brass. Weight, 59 gr. Ghazní. 405 A.H.



لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Marg. بسم الله ضرب || بهذا الفلس || بغزنة سنة || خمس واربع ماية

The above arrangement of the legend of the Reverse is merely intended to show the contents of each compartment. It does not in any way carry out the intricate cross-reading to be seen on the Coin itself.

No. 55.

Copper. Weight, 40 gr.

Areas. Legends as in No. 27, Silver Coin.

Monograms. Obverse, *infra* يميني. Reverse, *supra* لله.

Margins. Illegible.

No. 56.

Brass. Weight, 39 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
يمين الدولة	الله وحده
و امين الملة	لا شريك له
ابو القاسم	القادر بالله

Margins. Illegible.

MOHAMMED.

No. LVII.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
اواحد ?	
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
جلال الدولة	الله وحده
وجمال الملة	لا شريك له
محمد بن محمود	القادر بالله

Margins. Illegible.

The issue of this Coin is to be referred to the first reign of Mohammed, as Al Kádir, whose name is here inscribed, died ten or eleven years before this Ghaznaví Monarch's second accession.

MASAÚD.

No. LVIII.

Gold. Weight, 75·7 gr[1]. Níshápúr. 422 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.

الله
محمد رسول الله
القادر بالله
كرم ولي عهده حافظ
القايم بامر الله
ناصر دين الله

Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Obv.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
مسعود

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة اثني وعشرين[2] واربعماية

Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويوميذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

[1] Weights of other analogous specimens—73·6 gr., 57·6 gr., 52·5 gr.

[2] عشر in original. The عشر (10) is assumed to be a mistake for عشرين (20), for various reasons, notwithstanding that Masaúd is known to have been Governor (on the part of his father) of the province of Herát, and possibly Níshápúr itself, so early as 407. In the first place, it is highly improbable that the use of Mahmúd's name should have been discontinued on the provincial Coins during his lifetime; indeed, the binominal medal, No. XXI., seems to prove a contrary practice to have prevailed. In the second place, it is known that Al Káim be amerillah, whose titles are to be seen on the Coin immediately in question, was not appointed Walí Ah'd till 416. (Mirkhond.) And, lastly, the very existence of the و *waw* after the اثني would in itself evidence an error, taking the sentence as it now stands, as this conjunction is not usually employed to join the two Arabic words forming any given number between 10 and 20!

No. 59.

Gold. Weight, 56·4 gr. Níshápúr. 431 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	ظفر
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القايم بامرالله	الله وحده
ناصر دين الله	لا شريك له
حافظ غيار [1] الله	مسعود
د	
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة احدي وثلثين واربعماية
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

[1] غيار a mark or symbol used to distinguish the votaries of any particular creed.

The legends of the two following Coins of Toghral Beg have been inserted, both in advertence to what has already been stated regarding the first adoption of the title of Sultán (p. 271), as also with a view of showing, by the earliest available numismatic evidence, the actual loss by the Ghaznavís of the city of Níshápúr, which was finally taken from Masaúd by the Seljúks in 431 A.H.

Gold. Weight, 62·5 gr. Níshápúr. 433 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.	Obv.
	فتح
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القايم بامرالله	الله وحده
الامير الاجل	لا شريك له
طغرل بك	
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9; which is, however, incomplete, ending thus— المشرة	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة ثلث وثلثين وابعماية
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. LX

Silver. Weight, 54 gr. 422 A.H. Broad Coin.

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

ناصر دين الله

حافظ عباد الله

مسعود

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

محمد رسول ———

——— كره المشركون

Obv.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

القادر بالله

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا

——— ور سنة اثني وعشرين

واربعماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Gold. Weight, 60 gr. Níshápúr. 439 A.H. *My Cabinet.*

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

السلطان المعظم

شاهانشاه

طغرل بك ابوطا

لب

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Obv.

القايم

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

بامر الله

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا

الدينار بنيسابور سنة تسع

وثلثين واربعماية

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 61.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Broad Coin. British Museum.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
عليه السلم	لا شريك له
مسعود	القادر بالله
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا ——— واربعماية

No. 62.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. 425 A.H. Broad Coin. ***My Cabinet.***

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد	لا اله لا
رسول الله	الله وحده
القايم بامرالله	لا شريك له
مسعود	
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ——— سنة خمس وعشرين واربعماية

No. 62*a*.

A fragment of an analogous Coin bears on its Obverse Margin the words

سنة سبع وعشرين (4)27.

No. 63.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. Balkh. (42)8 A.H. Broad Coin.

Similar in legends to No. 62; but the characters are coarsely executed.

Obverse Margin. ـــــ ضرب هذا الدرهم ببلخ سنة ثمـــــ

No. 64.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Wálín. Small size. Very scarce.

Legends on Areas the same as No. 61.

Marg.	Marg.
ـــــ لله الامر من بعد وبو	ـــــ ضرب هذا الـــــم بوالين سنة ـــــ

Wálín [illegible] ـــم بوالين سنة

No. 65.

Silver. Weight, 66 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	القايم بامر
محمد	الله
رسول الله	لا اله الا
عليه السلام	الله وحده
مسعود	لا شريك له
	[illegible]

Margins. Illegible.

A second Coin has the Obverse monogram formed thus [illegible].

No. 66.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Small size.

Same as No. 65, with القايم at the top, and بامرالله at the bottom of Obverse Area.

No. 67.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهيرله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القايم بامر الله	الله وحده
ناصر دين الله	لا شريك له
مسعود	س

Margins. Illegible.

Some specimens of this class of Coins have their Margins quite plain, the parallel lines being separated by four small circles.

No. LXVIII.

Silver. Weight, 36 gr.

Areas as in No. 67, with the monogram اندراب at the top of Obverse, and لله at the top of the Reverse legend.

No. 69.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهيرله	
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله ناصر	الله وحده
دين الله	لا شريك له
مسعود	

Margins composed of circular lines:—Obverse, quite plain; Reverse, lines separated by bosses.

No. LXX.

Silver. **Weight, 47 gr.**

Rev.	Obv.
ه لله ه	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
ناصر دين الله	الله وحده
ابو سعيد	لا شريك له
مسعود	س
Marg. بسم الله ضر ——— ——— واربعماية	**Marg.** Illegible.

No. 71.

Silver. **Weight, 47 gr.**

The same as No. LXX., but with القايم at the top and بامرالله at the bottom of the Obverse legend, in the place of عدل and س; and محمد occupying an entire line, in lieu of the لله on the Reverse.

No. 72.

Silver. **Weight, 51 gr.**

Rev.	Obv.
ظهيرله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القايم بامرالله	الله وحده
ناصر دين الله	لا شريك له
	س

Margins. Illegible.

No. 73.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهير له	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القائم بامر الله	الله وحده
ناصر دين الله	لا شريك له
ابو سعيد	س

Margins. Illegible.

No. LXXIV.

Silver. Weight, 5·5 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
	^
بن محمود ح	مسعود

No. 75.

Brass. Weight, 42 gr.

Same as Silver Coin No. 67. Margins without legends.

No. 76.

Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
	o
Same legend as No. 61.	Usual symbol in three lines.

Margins. Illegible.

The subjoined Coin is inserted in this place, instead of being located in its due position in the series of the moneys of Masaúd, as there are some doubts regarding its correct identification consequent upon the worn state of the name of the Khalif, and the obliteration of the Obverse marginal legend, which would have served to fix the date and place of coinage. The piece is remarkable if it be from any of the mints of Masaúd of Ghazní, inasmuch as the word Sultán appears for the first time on the medals of this dynasty. Supposing that it really belongs to Masaúd, the son of Mahmúd, it will be necessary to conclude that it was struck in some of the provincial governments of his extensive dominions, as the type and the style of the legend equally differ from those of any of the recognized Coins of Ghazní.

The following is an enumeration of the various territorial possessions of Masaúd—

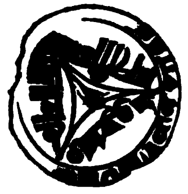
وكان ملكه عظيما فسيحا ملك اصفهان والري وطبرستان

وجرجان وخراسان وخوارزم وبلاد الران وكرمان وسجستان
والسند والرخج وغزنة وبلاد الغور واطاعه اهل البر والبحر

Abúl Fedá, Ann. Musl. (ed. Reisk), Vol. III. p. 114.

This summary does not appear to require any lengthened comment, the majority of the places indicated being sufficiently well known to modern geographers. It may be necessary, however, to notice that the word الران is frequently used by Ibn Haukul for ايران (see Géographie d'Aboulféda, note at foot of page 387); and to explain that الرخج, or الرحج, is the name ot a district of the province of Sejistán, situated up the River Helmund (see Istakhrí, p. 101; Ouseley's Orient. Geography, p. 207; Edrisi, p. 444; Aboulféda, Géographie, p. 342). Reisk, in his *translation* of the above passage, adds the name of Mekrán, which, though not to be found in his Arabic printed text, may possibly have had its place in the original MS.

Brass. Weight, 60 gr. Unique. Mr. Masson's own collection.

Rev.	Obv.
	لا الـه الا الله
	ـمد رسول الله
سلطان المعظم ملك العالم	ـعادر بالله
مسعود	
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. Illegible.

The annexed curious passage, relating certain unaccountable posthumous honours paid to Masaúd in the public prayers, is extracted from the Táríkh Masaúdí, as it is by no means improbable that a similar commemorative record may have been extended to the coinage of the day.

شاه ملک * * * روز ادینه دیگر روز بمسجد جامع آمد با بسیار
سوار و پیاده ساخته و کوکبه بزرگ و بنام امیر المومنین و سلطان
مسعود پس بنام وي خطبه کردند عجایب این باید شنود آن روز
که بنام امیر مسعود آنجا خطبه کردند پیش از آن بمدتي وي
بقلعت گیري بکشته بودند

MŌDŪD.

No. 77.

Gold. Weight, 52 gr. Ghaznī. 433 A.H.

Rev.

لله فتح لله

محمد رسول الله

* شهاب الدولة *

وقطب الملة

مودود

Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Obv.

عدل

لا اله الا

ع الله وحده ω

لا شريك له

القايم بامر الله

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة ثلث وثلثين واربعماية

Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد يوميذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

No. LXXVIII.

Gold. Weight, 62 gr. Ghazní. 435 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
لله فتح لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
شهاب الدولة	الله وحده
وقطب الملة	لا شريك له
مودود	القايم بامر الله
	س
Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون	**Marg. int.** بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة خمس وثلثين واربعماية
	Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويوميذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

No. 79.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
فتح	رمضان
محمد رسول الله	عدل
القايم بامر الله	لا اله الا
شهاب الدولة	الله وحده
مودود	لا شريك له
	س

Margins. Illegible.

No. 80.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr.

Similar legends on both Areas, with the monogram رمضان at the top, and مسعى at the foot of the Obverse, in place of س.

Obverse Margin. الدرهم بغزنة.

No. 81.

Silver. Weight, 41 gr. 433 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
فتح	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
علي الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
شهاب الدولة	القايم بامر الله
مودود	خ
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بـ سنة ثلث وثلثين واربعماية

No. LXXXII.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr. Ghazni. 434 A.H. Common.

Rev.	Obv.
فخر	عدل
محمد رسول الله	س
شهاب الدولة	لا اله الا
ابو الفتح	الله وحده
مودود	لا شريك له
	القايم بامر الله
Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بغزنة سنة اربع وثلثين و——	Marg. ——هم بغزنة سنة اربع وثلثين واربعماية

There are two thick specimens of this type of Coin, each of which weighs 63 gr.

No. 83.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr. Ghazní. 4?? A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
لله فتح لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
شهاب الدولة	الله وحده
وقطب الملة	لا شريك له
مودود	القايم بامر الله
	س
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بغزنة سنة ——— واربع ماية

No. LXXXIV.

Silver. Weight, 49 gr.

Similar to No. 83, with the word محرم Muharrim over the عدل in Obverse. Mint mark س.

No. 85.

Silver (impure). Weight, 40 gr.

Similar to No. 83, with the word رجب Rajab over the عدل in Obverse. Mint marks ع س.

No. 86.

Silver. Weight, 36 gr.

Similar to No. 83, with the word شوال Shawál over the عدل in Obverse. Mint marks ع س.

No. 87.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
* فتح *	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا الــــــه الا
شهاب الدولة	الله وحــــده
وفخر الامة[1]	لا شريك له
مودود	القايم بامر الله
	س
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. Worn. الدرهم بغزنة

[1] املة Hope (faith).

No. 88.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٥	٧
شهاب الدولة	لا الــــــه الا
وفخر الامة	الله وحــــده
ابو الفتح	لا شريك له
مودود	القايم بامر الله
	س

Broad Margins, with bosses and الله alternating.

No. 89.

Brass. Weight, 30 gr.

Legends in Areas as in No. 87, Silver Coin. The Obverse is wanting in the usual عدل, and has the mint mark س on the left of the legend.

Marg. As usual. لله الامر من | Marg. بسم الله ——— اربعماية

No. 90.

Brass. Weight, 33 gr.

Areas as in No. LXXXII., Silver Coin.

Marg. Illegible. | Marg. ضرب هذا ———

No. XCI.

Copper and Silver, mixed. Weight, 44 gr. ***My Cabinet.***

Rev.	**Obv.**
عدل شهاب الدولة وقطب الملة ابو الفتح مودود	श्री समन्त देव Figure of Nandí.

Marg. Illegible.

No. 92.

Copper and Silver. Weight, 45·5 gr. ***My Cabinet.***

Similar to No. XCI.

Reverse Margin. — ضرب هذا الدرهم بلوهور —

The earliest Mohammedan notice of Lahór is to be found in Albírúní; it is to the following effect:—

ثم فيها بين المغرب والشمال الى آدتهور تسعة والى جنير ستة والى ميذهوكور قصبة لوهاور على شرق نهر ايراده ثمنية

"Si de là [Canoge] on se porte vers le nord-ouest, on rencontre Adathaur, à la distance de neuf parasanges; ensuite Hadjannyr, à la distance de six parasanges; puis Maydahoukour, capitale du Lauhâour (Lahor), sur la rive orientale du Irâdha (le Ravi), à la distance de huit parasanges."

Fragments Arabes, &c., Reinaud, pp. 88, 114.

قال في اللباب[1] ولوهور مدينة كبيرة من بلاد الهند كثيرة الخير ويقال لها ايضا لهاور

Géographie d'Aboulféda, p. 359.

" It is stated in the Lubab, *Lóhór* is a great city of the cities of India, possessing many advantages. It is called also *Luháwur*."

[1] **The Lubáb of Ibn Alatír is not extant. Reinaud et MacGuckin de Slane, Préface. Idem, p. 37.**

ABDAL RASHÍD.

No. XCIII.

Gold. Weight, 74 gr. Ghazní. 440 A.H.

Obv.

ه عدل ه

س

لا اله الا

الله وحده ا

لا شريك له

القايم بامر الله

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة اربعين واربع ماية

Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويوميذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

Rev.

لله

محمد رسول الله

عز الدولة

وزين الملة ه

شرف الله

عبد الرشيد

Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

No. XCIV.

Gold. Ghaznî. 441 A.H. M. B. Allard.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	س
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
عز الدولة	الله وحده
وزين الملة	لا شريك له
شرف الله	القايم بامر الله
عبد الرشيد	
Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون	**Marg. int.** بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنة سنة احدي واربعين واربعماية
	Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويوميذ يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

No. XCV.

Silver. Weight, 49 gr. Ghaznî. (4)42 A.H. Rare.

Rev.	Obv.
شرف الله	فتح
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
عز الدولة	الله وحده
وزين الملة	لا شريك له
عبد الرشيد	القايم بامر الله
Marg. —— بغزنة سنة اثني واربع——	**Marg.** —— الدرهم بغزنة سنة اث——

A second specimen of this description of Coin has the words "At Ghaznî,

year (4)42" بغزنة سنة اثني واربعين و clearly developed on the Obverse Margin; and a third similar piece discloses on both Margins the more important confirmative unit of سنة احدي وار (44)1.

No. 96.

Other Coins, of a nearly analogous character, have the word زرين written in a manner differing from the form observable in the Engraving of Coin XCV., the Kufic ن being projected above the line of the word, as is usual in the old style of the letter. They also vary from No. XCV. in the Obverse monograms, which are occasionally seen to be

ن عدل ن / س and ن عدل ن / ك.

On the Obverse of one specimen is likewise to be detected the imperfect marginal date of 441 ـة احدي اربـ واربعـ

The examination of the mutilated marginal legends of the concluding examples of the Coins of Abdal Rashíd has been followed out in more than usual detail, with a view to determine, by satisfactory corroborative evidence, the credibility of the date of 440 A.H., to be seen on medal No. XCIII. This has been undertaken, not so much on account of the existence of any doubt as to the correct decipherment of the inscription on the Coin itself, as to meet any objection arising from the possibility of an omission—on the part of the die-engraver—of the word which should express the unit number in the date. Had the remaining Coins of Abdal Rashíd indicated no dates but such as would maintain the statement of those writers who assign this Monarch's accession to the year 443, and thereby negatively have justified the inference of an error in the preparation of the die of No. XCIII., some difficulty might have been experienced in accepting the *historically* unsupported testimony of an isolated Coin; but, the specimens now cited, though they unquestionably do not directly affirm the doubtful date, uphold it so sufficiently with immediately consecutive annual dates, that the value of the initial numismatic record may fairly be relieved from all suspicion.

FEROKHZÁD.

No. XCVII.

Gold. Bibliotheque du Roi, Paris. Kufic letters.

Rev.	Obv.
*	*
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
جمال الدولة	الله وحده
وكمال الملة	لا شريك له
فرخزاد بن	القايم بامر الله
مسعود	
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. XCVIII.

Gold. Weight, 72 gr. Persian letters—single Margins. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
ذ القايم بامر الله	وحده لا شريك له
جمال الدولة	فرخزاد بن مسعود
ابو شجاع	
Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار واربعماية

This Coin is noticeable, as offering the only instance in the present series of the use of Persian letters, in lieu of the accustomed Kufic. It is known that Mahmúd's Vizír, Abúl Abbás Fazíl, introduced for the first time, at the Court of Ghazní, the practice of writing public papers in the Persian language; and that

Khwájah Ahmad, the son of Hasan Meimendí, who subsequently became Minister, reverted to the Arabic for all permanent official documents (Ferishtah, Briggs, i., 88). It is possible that the altered style of the legend of the above medal may indicate a similar attempt at the re-introduction of the Persian language, as shown in the adoption of its characters on the coinage of the day. A more probable explanation of the origin of the change in the form of the letters is, however, to be found in the supposition that it may have been designed to convey an allusion to the temporary success of Ferokhzád over the armies of the Seljúks in Khorásán; or, indeed, it is by no means unlikely that the medal itself may actually have been struck in some of the Persian cities during their brief occupation by the troops of the Ghaznaví Monarch.

No. 99.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
ابو شجاع	الله وحده
فرخزاد بن	لا شريك له
مسعود	القايم بامر الله
Marg. الدرهم بغزنة سنة ا	Marg. Illegible.

No. 100.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr. (4)4? A.H. Broad Margins.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	س
صلي الله عليه	لا اله الا الله
جمال الدولة	وحده لا شريك له
فرخزاد	القايم بامر الله
	عدل
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ——— اربعين واربع ماية

No. 101.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. 450 A.H. Broad Margins.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	جمال
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــه الا الله
صلي الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
جمال الدولة	القايم بامر الله
فرخزاد	عدل
Marg. ـــــم بغزنة سنة	**Marg.** اـــــ الدرهم بغـــ
خمسين وا ـــــ	خمسين واربعماية

No. CII.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٥	فتح
محمد رسول الله	لا الـــه الا
جمال الدولة	عدل الله وحـــده و
وكمال الملة	لا شريك له
فرخزاد	القايم بامر الله

No Margins.

Others have monograms عدل and لله. Weights, up to 47 gr.

No. CIII.

Silver. Weight, 5·5 gr.

Rev.	**Obv.**
الله	
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله القايم
فرخزاد	بامر الله

Average weight of four other specimens, 5·25 gr.

No. CIV.

Mixed Silver and Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	**Obv.**
عدل	
جمال الدولة	श्री समन्त देव
ابو شجاع	Figure of Nandí.
فرخزاد	

No. 105.

Mixed Silver and Copper. Weight, 44 gr. Unique.

Rev.	**Obv.**
	श्री समन्त देव
—— ‖ ابو شجاع ‖ فرخزاد	Figure of Nandí.
بعبلع	

No. 106.

Copper. Weight, 39 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ن ن	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
صلي الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
جمال الدولة	القايم بامر الله
فرخزاد	بن مسعود

Margins. Illegible.

No. 107.

Copper. Weight, 30 gr.

Same as No. CII., Silver Coin.

IBRAHĪM.

No. CVIII.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. Rare.

Rev.	Obv.
o ملك o	ظهير
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
القايم بامر الله	لا شريك له
ابرهيم	الدولة

Broad Margins. Bosses and لله alternating.

No. CIX.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
o لله o	o o o
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله ظهير	الله وحده
الدولة	لا شريك له
الملك ابرهيم	القايم بامر الله
نصيري	ع

Margins. Illegible.

No. 110.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	ملك
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
صلي الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
ظهير الدولة	القايم بامر الله
ابرهيم	الاسلام

Margins. Illegible.

Judging from the outline of what still remains of the nearly obliterated Reverse marginal legend, the inscription seems to have been composed of a mere repetition of the words الملك لله ——

No. 111.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
° عدل °	المظفر
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
صلي الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
ابو المظفر	القايم بامر الله
ابرهيم	عدل
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. —— ضربهذا الدرهم ب ——

A similar Coin has the monogram عدل in the place of المظفر, the former being replaced by the word لله

Obverse Margin. بسم الله —— واربعماية

No. 112.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
محمد	القايم
رسول الله	لا اله الا
نصير الدولة	الله وحده د
وظهير الملة	لا شريك له
ابرهيم	بامر الله
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. ——— الملك لله

No. 113.

Silver. Weight, 33 gr.

A Coin similar to No. 112, having the Khalif's name in the third line of the Obverse, the two first lines being lengthened accordingly to contain the usual legend. Monograms عدل / عدل.

Reverse legend as in No. 112. Monogram قران.

No. 114.

Silver. Weight, 33 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
قران	
محمد رسول الله	
نصير	Similar to No. 113.
الدولة	
ابرهيم	

No. 115.

Silver. Weight, 31 gr.

Rev. (*Circular Area.*)	**Obv.**
لله ٥ لله	القايم
محمد رسول الله	بامر · لا اله الا · الله
نصير الدولة	الله وحده
وظهير الملة	لا شريك له
ابرهيم	الملك

Marg. Illegible.

The title الملك at the foot of the Obverse surface is occasionally replaced by the word عدل.

No. 116.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	**Obv.**
محمد	القايم
رسول الله	لا اله الا
ظهير الدولة	راحت · الله وحده
ونصير الملة	لا شريك له
ابرهيم	بامر الله

باهد راحت

No. CXVII.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr.

Rev.	**Obv.**
لله لله لله	٥ لله ٥
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	وحده لا شريك له
قاهر الملوك	القايم بامر الله
سيد السلاطين	ملك الاسلام
ابرهيم	نصيري

Margins. Illegible.

No. 118.

Other Coins of this type bear the name of the Khalif Al Moktadi be amerillah. Monogram on Obverse قران.

No. CXIX.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
عادي	ن * ن
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
قاهر الملوك	محمد رسول الله
سيد السلاطين	المقتدي بامر الله
ابو المظفر	ملك الاسلام
ابرهيم	ح * ك

Margins. Illegible.

A second specimen has بسم الله ضرب هذا ———— واربعماية legible on the Obverse Margin.

No. 120.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
	قران
السلطان	لا اله الا الله
الاعظم قاهر	وحده لا شريك له
الملوك	المقتدي بامر الله
سيد السلاطين	ملك الاسلام
ابرهيم	ك ○ ك

Margins composed of minute triangular points.

No. 121.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

Obverse. As No. 120; but the Khalif's name is at the top and bottom of

Obverse, thus المقتدي / بامر الله.

Reverse. Monogram قران, and a legend similar to No. 120; but the whole is compiised in four lines, instead of five.

No. 122.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
الله * الله	ه المقتدي ه
السلطان الاعظم	السلطان الاعظم
قاهر الملوك	قاهر الملوك
سيد السلاطين	سيد السلاطين
ابرهيم	بامر الله

No. 123.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
الله الله الله	
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	وحده لا شريك له
قاهر الملوك	ملك الاسلام
سيد السلاطين	المقتدي بامر
ابرهيم	الله

Another specimen of this class of Coin has the monogram قاهر at the top of the Obverse.

No. 124.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
حافظ	المقتدي
السلطان	لا اله الا
الاعظم	الله محمد
ابرهيم	رسول الله
	بامر الله

Another Coin of this type has on the Reverse Margin

ـك لله الملك لله الملك لله

No. CXXV.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
حافظ	المستظهر
السلطان	لا اله الا
الاعظم	الله محمد
ابرهيم	رسول الله
	بالله
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. ـملك لله الملك لله الملك لله

No. CXXVI.

Silver. Weight, 5·5 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
بن مسعود	Centre. ابرهيم

No. CXXVII.

Silver. **Weight, 4·5 gr.**

Rev.	Obv.
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله القايم
ابرهيم	بامر الله

No. 128.

Silver and Copper, mixed. **Weight, 27 gr.**

Rev.	Obv.
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
ابو المظفر	وحده لا شريك له
ابرهيم بن	القايم بامر الله
مسعود	عدل

No. CXXIX.

Silver and Copper. **Weight, 46 gr.** **Lahór.**

Rev.	Obv.
عدل	
السلطان	
المعظم	श्री समन्त देव
ابو المظفر	Figure of Nandí.
ابرهيم	

Marg. — ضرب هذا الدرهم — بلوهور —

A second similar specimen has also the words — ريهذا الدرهم بلوهور — **clearly legible on its Margin.**

No. 130.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 47 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
Legend commences with السلطان الاعظم instead of السلطان المعظم	As in No. CXXIX.

Some Coins have the monogram سيفى in lieu of عدل; and many have the Margins filled with dots in the place of legends.

No. 131.

Brass. Weight, 28 gr.

Areas as in No. 112, Silver Coin.

No. 132.

Brass. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
As in No. 121.	As in No. CXIX.

MASAŬD III.

No. CXXXIII.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
ابو سعد	لله * لله
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
الكادم بامر الله	محمد رسول الله
القايم برجب الله	المستظهر بالله
مسعود	يميني
Marg. ———— الملك المويد علا الدولة و ———	Marg. ——— سنة سنة خمس و ———

No. CXXXIV.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. 494 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهير	المستظهر
السلطان	لا اله الا
◦ الاعظم ◦	الله محمد
مسعود	رسول الله
ع	بالله
Marg. الملك المويد علا الدولة وسنا[2] الملة ظهير الامام[1]	Marg. ——— اربع وتسعين اربعماية

[1] This marginal legend has been restored from the collation of different specimens.

[2] سَنَا Light.

No. CXXXV.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
سناي	
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
علا الدولة	محمد رسول الله
وسنا الملة	المستظهر بالله
ظهير الامام	ملك الاسلام
مسعود	ابو سعد

No Margins.

A second Coin has the monogram ⁎ سناي ⁎ at the top of Reverse.

No. 136.

Silver. Weight, 38 gr. Common.

Rev.	Obv.
ابو سعد	عدل
السلطان العادل	لا اله الا الله
مولي السلاطين	محمد رسول الله
نظام الدين	المستظهر بالله
مسعود	قاهري
Marg.	Marg. Illegible.
—— بغزنة سنة خمس و ——	

No. CXXXVII.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 51 gr. Major Simpson.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان	श्री समन्त देव
علا الدولة	Figure of Nandí.
مسعود	

No. 138.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 51 gr. Major Simpson.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان	
العادل	श्री समन्त देव
ابو سعد	Figure of Nandí.
مسعود	

No. 139.

Copper. Weight, 47 gr.

Similar legends, &c., to Silver Coin, No. 136.

ARSLAN.

No. 140.

Silver. Weight, 49 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
ملكي	
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
سلطان الدولة	وحده لا شريك له
ملك ارسلان بن	المستظهر بالله
مسعود	م
Marg. الملك لله الملك لله الملك لله	Marg. Illegible

No. CXLI.

Copper. Weight, 42 gr. Common.

Rev.	Obv.
ملك ارسلان	سلطان الدولة

BAHRÁM SHÁH.

No. CXLII.

Silver. Weight, 56 gr. Very common.

Rev.	Obv.
سلطان	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	المسترشد بالله
يمين الدولة	عضد الدولة
بهرامشاه	سنجر
ع	

Margins. Illegible.

A second Coin has ——— الدرهم بغزنة س ——— on its Obverse, and ——— ضرب هذا الدرهم بغ ——— on its Reverse Margin.

No. 143.

Silver. Weight, 30 gr. Small Coin.

Areas as in No. CXLII. No Margins.

No. CXLIV.

Silver. Weight, 56 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
ناصري	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	المقتفي لامر الله[1]
يمين الدولة	عضد الدولة
بهرامشاه	سنجر

Margins. Illegible.

[1] Sic in orig.

No. CXLV.

Silver. Weight, 8 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
Margin.	Margin.
السلطان المعظم يمين الدولة	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
Centre.	Centre.
بهرام شاه	بهرام شاه

No. 146.

Silver. Weight, 10 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
بن	شاه
مسعود	بهرامشاه
	ع

This type of Coin has no *written* Margins, the space being filled in with simple dots.

No. CXLVII.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 48 gr. ***My Cabinet.***

Rev.	Obv.
عدل	
السلطان	श्री समन्त देव
الاعظم	Figure of Nandí.
بهرامشاه	

KHUSRÚ SHÁH.

No. CXLVIII.

Gold. Weight, 59 gr. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
معز	. . .
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	وحده لا شريك له
معز الدولة	المقتفي لامر الله
خسرو شاه	عضد الدولة
	سنجر
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. ارسله بالهدى ——
	—— علي الدين ——

No. 149.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
ناصر	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	المقتفي لامر الله
معز الدولة	عضد الدولة
خسرو شاه	سنجر
Marg. Composed of dots.	Marg. —— ضرب هذا ——

No. CL.

Silver. Weight, 63 gr. Scarce.

This type varies from No. 149, in the rejection of the name of Sanjar, the two last lines of the Obverse Area being superseded by the words امير المومنين

Both Margins are composed of dots.

KHUSRŪ MALIK.

No. CLI.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
?	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	وحده لا شريك له
تاج الدولة	المقتفي لامر الله
خسرو ملك	امير المومنين

Margins filled up with dots.

No. CLII.

Silver. Weight, 66 gr. Common.

Rev.	Obv.
	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	المستنجد بامره[1]
تاج الدولة	امير المومنو
خسرو ملك	

Dotted Margins.

Some have marginal inscriptions; but the purport is unintelligible. Occasionally are to be seen the Obverse monogram, *infra*, ن ع ن, and Reverse, *supra*, تاج.

[1] Sic in orig.

No. CLIII.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان الاعظم تاج الدولة خسرو ملك	The Bull Nandí in Toghrá, and traces of श्री समन्त देव

No. 154.

Copper. Weight, 48 gr. *My Cabinet.* (See also Plate XX., fig. 16, Ariana Antiqua.)

Rev.	Obv.
In a circle ب خسرو ملك	السلطان الاعظم سراج الدولة

No. 155.

Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
تاج الدولة خسرو ملك	السلطان الاعظم *

TABLE II.—*Abstract of Dates legible on the Coins.*

A.H.	Mint City.	King's Name.	Reference to Coins.	Remarks.
347	(Anderábeh)	Alptegín	1	Fræhn.
380	Ferwán	Sabaktagín	2	2 specimens.
382	?	idem	3	
383	Ferwán	idem	4	
(3)84	?	idem	5	
385	Níshápúr	Mahmúd	8	
390	idem	idem	9 and 10	
395	Herát	idem	14	See also No. 25, (Ghazní).
399	(Níshápúr)	idem	26	
399	(Ghazní)	idem	27	
400	Níshápúr	idem	11	Fræhn.
401	idem	idem	12 and 13	
401	Herát	idem	15	2 specimens.
401	Ghazní	idem	36	
405	idem	idem	54	
407	Níshápúr	idem	19	
409	idem	idem	20	
411	Herát	idem	16	
411	Balkh	idem	40	
411	Ghazní	idem	43 and 44	
412	Balkh	idem	45	See also No. 42.
413	Herát	idem	17	
414	Níshápúr	idem	41	
414	Herát	idem	18	
414	?	idem	46	
419	?	idem	47	
421	?	idem	50 and 52	
421	Balkh	idem	51	4 specimens.
422	Níshápúr	Masaúd	58	
422	?	idem	60	
425	?	idem	62	
(4)27	?	idem	62*a*	
(42)8	Balkh	idem	63	
431	Níshápúr	idem	59	
433	Ghazní	Módúd	77	
433	?	idem	81	
434	Ghazní	idem	82	
435	idem	idem	78	
440	idem	Abdal Rashíd	93	
441	idem	idem	94	See also No. 96 and Note to No. 95.
(4)42	idem	idem	95	2 specimens.
(4)4?	?	Ferokhzád	100	
450	Ghazní	idem	101	
494	?	Masaúd III.	134	

Mons. F. Soret, in his "Lettre sur quelques Monnaies inédites trouvées à Bokhara" (Genève, 1843), describes a copper Coin similar in historic characteristics to No. 8, bearing the conjoint names of Al Táí'h lillah, Núh bin Mansúr, and Seif al Daulah (Mahmúd), struck at Níshápúr in 386 A.H. M. Soret also cites from Fræhn's works, gold Coins of Mahmúd, Níshápúr, 413, and Ghazní, 406. The means of verification of these last quotations are not immediately available.

TABLE III.—*Mint Cities.*

1	Balkh	بلخ	Nos. 40, 45, 51, &c.
2	Ferwán	فروان	„ 2, 4. See also Coins B and C, pp. 35, 36.
3	Ghazní	غزنة	„ 36, 43, 49, 53, &c., &c.
4	Herát	هراة	„ 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, &c.
5	Lahór	لوهور	„ 92, 129.
6	Níshápúr	نيسابور	„ 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, &c.
7	Sejistán	سجستان	„ 48.
8	Wálín	والين	„ 29, 64.
9	Anderábeh?	.. .. ..	Fræhn, Novæ Symbolæ, p. 15.
10	Bokhárá, 412 A.H.	..	Are quoted by Mœller (De Numis. Orientalibus, p. 134), as given by Fræhn (2ter Ber., p. 36).
11	Kermínía, 389 A.H.		

Since the major portion of the preceding pages have passed through the press, an opportunity has occurred of inspecting a *second* copy of the rare work of Al Bíhekí, containing the life and history of Masaúd of Ghazní, in the possession of W. H. Morley, Esq. Any lengthened notice of this MS. might be deemed out of place at the present moment, but it is necessary to state that a more extended, though still imperfect, examination of this MS. in no way shakes the authenticity of any previous quotation; and, though much might have been added, there is nothing to alter in any of the deductions heretofore drawn from its pages, with the single exception of a remark which suggests itself from a discovery that Masaúd bore among his other titles that of حافظ لعباد الله, and that possibly this may be the designation intended to be recorded in the inscription which occupies the last line of the Reverse Areas of Coins Nos. 59, 60. This was in truth, the most obvious and satisfactory reading, and that which presented itself at the first sight of the Coins; but it was rejected, and is still questioned, on account of the shape of the final letter of the second word differing so materially from the other *dals* د to be found on other parts of the self-same Coins.

SUPPLEMENT.

In bringing to a conclusion the foregoing description of the Coins of the Ghaznaví Kings of the race of Sabaktagín, it may be appropriate to take this opportunity of referring cursorily to any of the more rare or remarkable medals connected with the locality, whence this dynasty derived its name, which have found a place in the collection of Mr. Masson.

With this single object in view, and avoiding any effort at serial classification, the following detached notices of a few of the numismatic records of some of the early successors of the more strictly so-called Ghaznaví Monarchs are here subjoined. In the express desire also of limiting the present observations, the reproduction of any previously fully-deciphered Coin has been carefully avoided, and the necessary introductory remarks have been confined to little more than mere references to readily accessible historical authorities.

GHÍÁTH AL DÍN MOHAMMED BIN SÁM.

Ghíáth al dín Mohammed bin Sám was the Suzerain of, and eventually the associate Sovereign with, his brother, Muaz al dín (otherwise Shahab al dín) Mohammed bin Sám, better known as Mohammed Ghórí, the conqueror of Hindústán, and founder of the powerful dynasty of the Pat'án Monarchs of Delhí[1].

The Coins of these brother Kings are not uncommon, and may be referred to in the Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, May, 1838; Ariana Antiqua, pp. 435, 437, and 438, Nos. 29, 35, Pl. XX., and Nos. 24, 25, 26, 35, 36, Pl. XIX.; and also Numismatic Chronicle, October, 1846.

No. 1.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 46 gr.

Obv. Rude figure of a Cavalier, facing to the left, with his lance at the charge.

Rev. سيف الملك الاعظم ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

The above Coin is remarkable as illustrating the authenticity of an assertion in

[1] Ferishtah (Dow), i., 127; Briggs, i., 169; Price, ii., 313; Price, quoting the Khalásat al Akhbár, ii., 455. Dorn's Hist. Afghans, Annotations. Elphinstone, i., 603.

Abúl Fedá, to the effect that, after Alá al dín Husséin *Jehánsóz*' death, Ghíáth al dín Mohammed bin Sám reigned over Ghór and Ghazní as *Malik*, that is to say, without at first adopting the higher style of *Sultán*.

وخطب لنفسه في الغور وغزنة بالملك

Abúl Fedá, Ann. Mosl.

BAHÁ AL DÍN SÁM BIN MOHAMMED.

The Dynasty of the Ghórians of Bámián.

Dominions.—Tokháristán, Balkh, Boklán, and Badakhshan, &c.

1. Fakhr al dín Masaúd, son of Eiz al dín Husséin, *Amír Hájib* of Sultán Ibrahím.

2. Shems al dín Mohammed bin Masaúd.

3. Bahá al dín Sám bin Mohammed. Fourteen years' reign. Died in 602 A.H.

4. Jellál al dín Alí. Seven years' reign. Conquered and put to death by the Khwárizmís[1].

No. 2.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان الا	لا اله الا
عظم بها الد	الله محمد
نيا والدين	رسول الله
سام بن محمد	الناصر لدين
	الله

Margins. Illegible.

No. 3.

Silver. Weight, 12 gr.

Obv. The usual symbol in three lines, as in No. 2, but without the addition of the Khalíf's name.

Rev. السلطان الاعظم بها الدنيا والدين سام بن محمد

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[1] Rauzat al Safá, quoted by Dorn, ii., 91; see also *original* MS., No. 43, Roy. As. Soc.; and MS. Khalásat al Akhbár, Idem.

No. 4.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 52 gr.

Obv. Rude figure of a Horseman, facing to the right, holding a lance at the charge.

Rev. As No. 2.

TÁJ AL DÍN ÍLDUZ.

Táj al dín Ilduz, one of the slaves of Mohammed Ghórí, is first noticed in history on the occasion of his appointment to the government of Kirmán. He was subsequently elevated to the charge of Ghazní itself, in which position he revolted on Mohammed Ghórí's defeat by the Allies of the King of Khwárizm; but finding his master at the gates of the capital, with sufficient force to insure success, he submitted, and was pardoned, being allowed to retain his former charge. On Muaz al dín's death, Ilduz became independent Monarch of Ghazní, and held possession until its capture by Mohammed Khwárizmí, after which he returned to Kirmán, and eventually in endeavouring to conquer Hindústán, he was taken prisoner by Shems al dín Altemsh[1].

No. 5.

Gold. Weight, 46 gr. Unique.

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Marg. * * * ——— شهور سنة ثمان وسـ——— * * *

Rev. Area. السلطان (ا)لاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

Marg. * * * والدين الدنيا تاج ظم———

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[1] Ferishtah [Dow, i., 138; Briggs, i., 200]; D'Herbelot, Article "Ildiz;" Elphinstone, i., 616.

No. *6.*

Gold. Weight, 61 gr. Unique.

Obv. Area. السلطان الشهيد محمد بن سام

Marg. * * هذا ببلده غز * * شهور سنة * *

Rev. الملك المعظم سلطان الشرق تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

No. *7.*

Silver. Weight, 94 gr. Unique.

Obv. *Square* Area. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Marg. هذا الد || —— || سهور سنة || عشر ——

Rev. *Small square* Area. السلطان المعز

Marg. السلطاني عبد ومولا تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

No. *8.*

Silver and Copper. Weight, 39 gr.

Obv. Rude figure of a Cavalier, facing to the left, with his spear at the charge.

Rev. Area. الملك المعظم تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

Marg. Filled in with dots.

No. *9.*

Silver and Copper.

Obv. The *Kirmán* style of the figure of the Bull (Nandí?)

Rev. معز الدنيا والدين عبد يلدز

A Coin of Táj al dín Ilduz is depicted in fig. 18, Pl. XX., Ariana Antiqua.

ALÁ AL DÍN MOHAMMED KHWÁRIZMÍ.

(*Sekander al Thání.*)

Alá al dín Mohammed, son of Tukush, the sixth of the Khwárizm Sháhís, ascended the throne of his father in 596 A.H. After the defeat of the Kára Khitans, in 605[1], he was entitled Sekander al Thání[2]. Subsequently he subdued Bámíán; and in 612[3] he reduced Ghazní. He died in 617.

The gold coins of this Prince have been sufficiently noticed by Professor Wilson, in his Ariana Antiqua, p. 437 (see also Fræhn's Recensio, pp. 146 and 595). One class of Alá al dín's *broad* silver coins partakes of the general characteristics of his gold coinage: the two specimens of this description in Mr. Masson's collection weigh severally 97 and 102 grains. In addition also to the common *narrow* silver coins, in make and weight similar to those of his son (No. *17*), there are examples of thin *broad* silver pieces, likewise weighing about 47 grains, which are curiously ornamented with a scolloped Margin, in the interstices of which are inscribed the usual marginal legends. These coins have the monogram قروان at the top of each Area; the place of mintage is not legible.

No. *10*.

Copper. Weight, 67 gr.

Obv. Horseman in outline (*Toghrá*)[4] *face to the left*

السلطان ——— دنيا و ———

Rev. Bull in outline. ابو الفتح محمد بن

السلطان

This Coin and No. *15* are noticeable as evincing how completely it was the custom with Eastern conquerors, in Central Asia at least, to adopt the types of the money of the countries subdued. It has been shown (Journ. Roy. As. Soc., xvii., 190) that the Khwárizmís, in imitation of their immediate predecessors, the Ghórís, made use of the device of the Horseman, first introduced by the Brahman Kings of Kábul; but the present examples prove that they also appropriated, subject to but slight modification, the Reverse die—the Bull of the Hindú prototype.

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[1] De Guignes: see also D'Herbelot, Article "Mohammed Koth beddin."

[2] Or according to the Khalásat al Akhbár, in 607 A.H.; Price, ii., 399.

[3] Anno duodecimo, mense Shaabano, potitus est Soltan Mohammed urbe Ghazna; cum antea maximam Chorasani partem et regnum Bamianæ possedisset. Abúl Faraj [Pocock], p. 287.

[4] See a somewhat similar figure on a coin of this Monarch, Plate, p. 177, fig. 23, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., No. XVII.; and Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, fig. 2, Pl. XIV., Vol. VI.

No. *11*.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 gr.

Obv. ***Square Area.*** السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين

Rev. **Horseman,** ***face to the left*** محمد بن السلطان || تكس

No. *12*.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 53 gr. Bámíán.

Obv. **As No.** ***11*.**

Rev. **Horseman,** ***face to the right.***

محمد بن السلطان

and in a line with the spear, below the horse,

باميان.

No. *13*.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 42 gr.

Obv. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Rev. **Marg.** السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين محمد

Centre. بن سلطان

No. *14*.

Copper. Weight, 51 gr.

Obv. **As No.** ***13*.**

Rev. **Marg.** السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين

Centre. محمد

No. 15.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 gr.

Obv. السلطان الاعظم سكندر الثاني

Rev. Bull Nandí, and the imperfectly formed letters श्रष्ट.

For an engraving of this Coin see Ariana Antiqua, Plate XX., fig. 4; figs. 8 and 15, of the same Plate, also represent Coins of Alá al dín bin Mohammed.

No. 16.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 40 gr.

Obv. السلطان علا الدنيا و الدين سكندر الثاني

Rev. Horseman in *Toghrá, face to the right*, and श्री हमीर:

JELLÂL AL DÎN MANKBURÎN.

On the death of Alá al dín, his son, Jellál al dín Mankburín, retired to Ghazní, and not long afterwards (618) retreated before Chengiz Khán towards Hindústán, by whom he was overtaken and totally defeated on the banks of the Indus. After this, he held temporary dominion in India for two years, and in 620[1] proceeded to Irak, and having experienced various remarkable turns of fortune, he was finally routed by the Tatars in 628 A.H., from which time he is entirely lost sight of[2].

No. 17.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Unique. (*Small Coin, with dotted Margins.*)

Obv. الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Rev. جلال الدنيا و الدين منكبرين بن السلطان

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[1] Ferishtah [Briggs], iv. 415.

[2] Price, from Khalásat al Akhbár, ii. 410; D'Herbelot, Article "Gellaleddin."

No. 18.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 44 gr. Rare. (*Persian letters.*)

Obv. السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا و الدين

Rev. Horseman in *Toghrá*.

No. 19.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 45 gr. Rare.

Similar to No. 18; but with *square* Kufic letters.

CHENGIZ KHÁN.

Declared Emperor of the Moghuls 602 A.H. = 1206[1].
Died, Ramzán, 624 A.H.

The extensive conquests achieved by the Moghuls under Chengiz Khán, and the sanguinary character of their inroads into the countries of the different nations of Asia, are too prominent in the general history of the world to require any extended recapitulation in this place; it may, however, be necessary to mark the various points of this Monarch's connexion with the land to which it is probable the Coins below quoted more immediately refer. The detail of this portion of Chengiz Khán's career is almost wholly confined to his contests with Jellál al dín, the last of the Khwárizmís. The progressive advance of the conqueror may be traced in the sieges of Balkh, Tálikán, and Bámíán, each rendered memorable in the record of the atrocities which were enacted on their capture. While engaged in reducing the last named city, the forces of the Moghuls received a check in the defeat of two several detachments by their intrepid opponent, who at this time held his Court at Ghazní. Dissensions, however, arising in the camp of Jellál al dín, followed by the defection of one of his most powerful supporters, induced Chengiz Khán to take advantage of the opportunity, and advance in person upon Ghazní, whence, as has already been stated, Jellál al dín retreated, and was brought to action on the Indus, where he nobly defended himself to the last extremity; and, in his equally bold passage of the river itself, when all was lost, he elicited the involuntary admiration of his barbarian adversary.

[1] Price (Habíb al Sair), ii. 486, 518, 520, &c.; D'Herbelot, Article "Genghiz Khan."

Beyond this spot Chengiz Khán's Indian conquests can scarcely be said to have extended, as he seems to have satisfied himself with the dispatch of one of his Generals to ravage the country, which was effected in the full measure of Moghul ferocity as far as Multán and Lahór[1].

No. 20.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Very scarce. (*Small thick Coin, with dotted Margins.*)

OBV. الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

REV. العادل الاعظم جنكز خان

No. 21.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

A Coin similar to the above, but having the name and title written in the more modern form of Kufic characters as two distinct words جنكز خان

No. 22.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 63 gr. (Coin of a similar character and form of letters to No. 20.)

OBV. As above, No. 20.

REV. عدل خاقان الاعظم

A Coin of Chengiz Khán (Bokhárá) is described by Fræhn. Die Münzen, p. 57.

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[1] Price, ii. 520; De Guignes, ii. 278, *et seq.*; Abúl Faraj, p. 293, &c.

INCERTI.

No. 23.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 44 gr. (Three specimens in the Masson collection.)

Obv. A rudely-formed figure of a Bull, facing to the left, apparently in a rising posture, with the tail erect: above the back of the animal, expressed in *Persian* letters, is the word فروان Ferwán.

Rev. Area (in ill-formed *Kufic* characters).

عدل السلطان الاعظم مسعود

Marg. Illegible.

No. 24.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 gr.

Obv. Horseman in *Toghrá*, facing to the left, and श्री हमीरः imperfectly formed, the श being completely reversed.

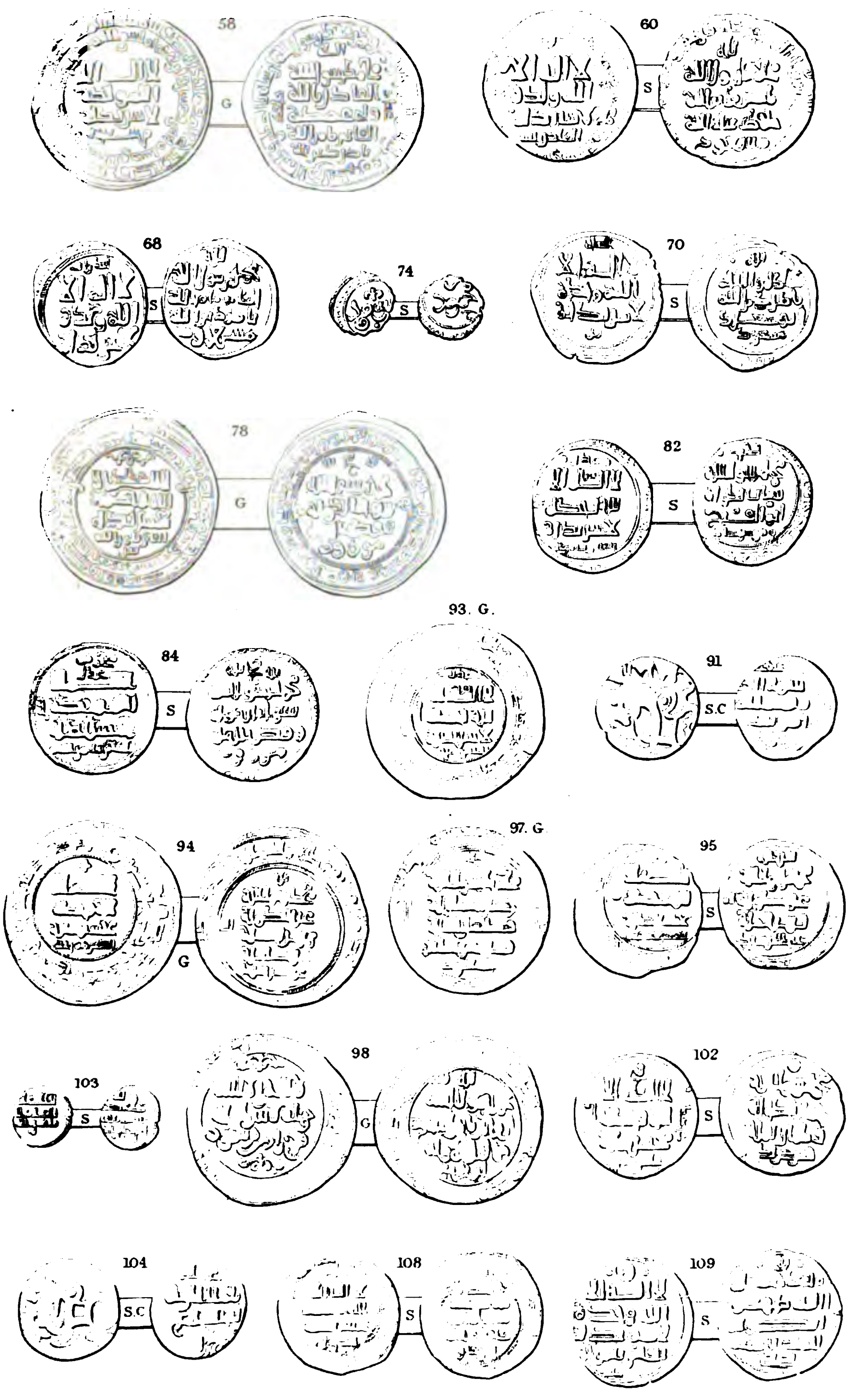
Rev. *Persian characters.*

نف[1] الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر الحـــ بن مسعود

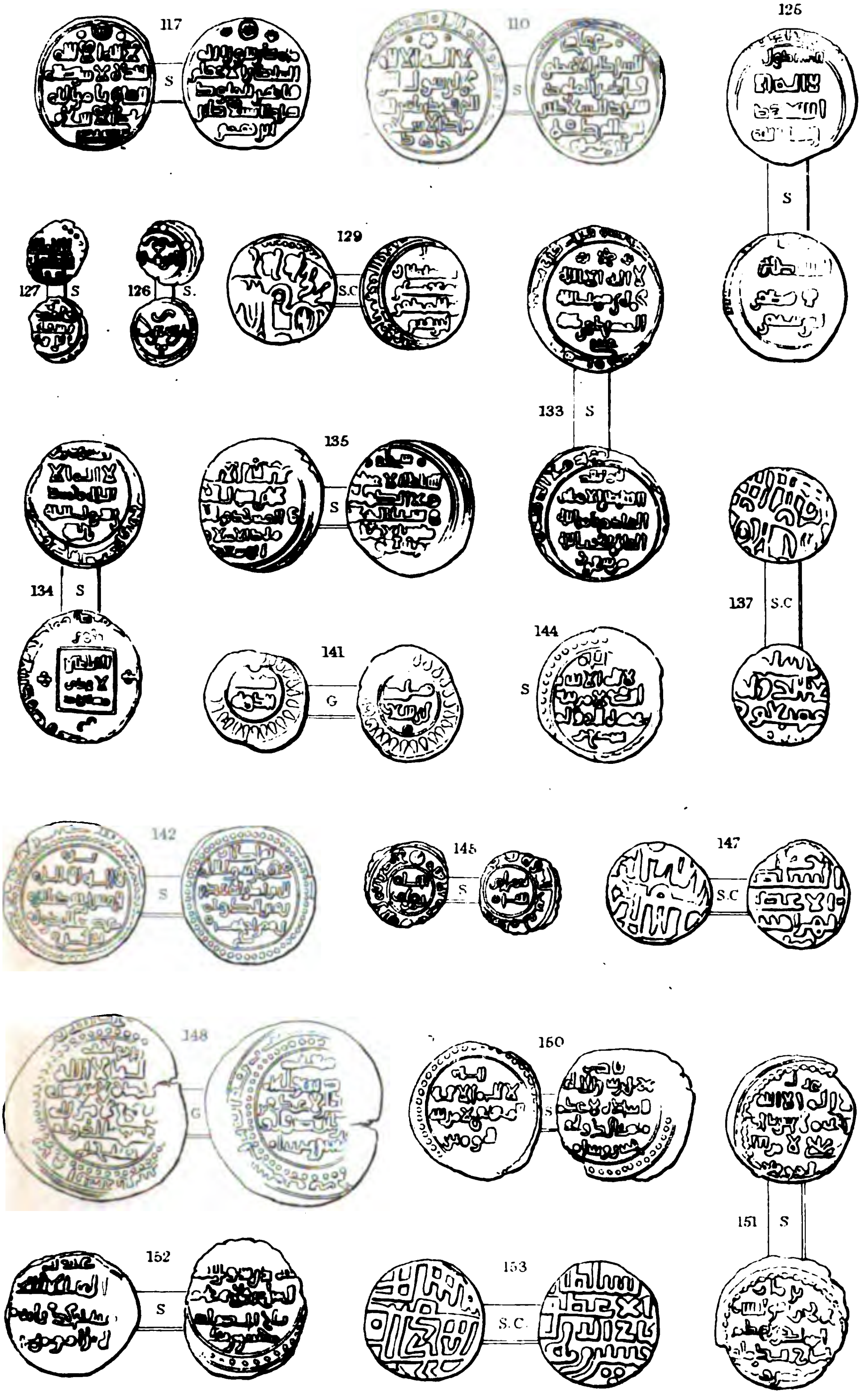
سيف ?[1]

J. Basire sc

COINS OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNÍ



J Basire del. et sc.



J Basire, del et

COINS OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNÍ.

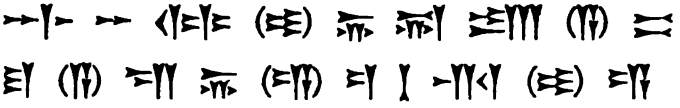
Art. X.—*On the Inscriptions at Van; by the* Rev. E. Hincks, D.D.

[*Read 4th December*, 1847.]

§ 1. My object in the present Paper is to explain the system of writing which has been used in the Van Inscriptions, and to show the nature of the language in which they have been composed. I wish to enable my readers to judge for themselves as to the correctness of my conclusions; but I do not consider it either necessary or expedient that they should travel to them by the same path which I took myself. I prefer conducting them by the shortest route to the point which I reached circuitously, and after frequently retracing my steps. It will be desirable that the reader should be able to refer to the volume of the Journal Asiatique, (Third Series, No. LII.,) which contains Schulz's Plates, and also to the inscription copied by Mühlbach, published, I believe, at Berlin, and reprinted in this country by the Syro-Egyptian Society. If he cannot consult these inscriptions himself, he must take on trust the statements which I make concerning them.

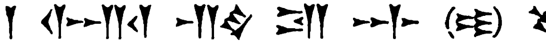
§ 2. The most important of the Van Inscriptions are those from the rocks of Khorkhor, numbered II. to VII. These six columns contain a continued text, which is unfortunately mutilated in many places by the effect of cannon-balls; but a remarkable circumstance greatly facilitates the reading of them: they contain portions of thirteen different consecutive inscriptions, which commence alike and have much matter in common. A comparison of the different places where the corresponding passages of the text are found, enables us to supply the defective letters with certainty in a great number of the lines. This comparison proves very clearly that the inscriptions have in no case been copied with that accuracy, which Schulz's statements would lead us to expect, though his errors are not very considerable, except at the top of the column numbered IV., where he acknowledges his inability to copy correctly, owing to his position with respect to the inscribed rock and to a precipice beneath it. The places in the six columns at which the several inscriptions begin, are known from a comparison with the inscriptions numbered XII. and XLII., and with that of Mühlbach; which last all commence in the same manner as they do. Their first lines are II. 17; III. 5, 25, 51; IV. 20, 46; V. 14, 42, 67;

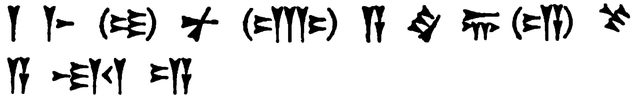
VI. 11, 33, 70. The characters with which these inscriptions begin are the following:—

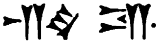
 (a)

§ 3. I have here placed in parentheses five characters which are only occasionally inserted, and which cannot therefore be essential parts of the text. The occasional insertion of certain characters in this manner was noticed by Grotefend; and he correctly inferred that the characters thus inserted were vowels, and that the reason of their being inserted was to enable the writer to terminate all his lines at the end of words. The number of characters thus inserted is very small; and a comparison of the various texts which are found repeated, shows that a word was never divided between two lines in the Van system, any more than it was in the Babylonian. In addition to these principles laid down by Grotefend, I observe that each vowel which the writer might omit or insert *ad libitum* was restricted to follow certain characters. I infer that these characters were syllabic, and that they all terminated with the vowels that are found to be occasionally inserted after them. Though it is some years since Grotefend laid down these elementary principles of this mode of writing, he has I believe made no further progress in reading it, and no attempts at all at interpreting it. According to this principle, , , and would be vowels; and would be syllables terminating in the vowel ; and in ; and in . It will appear hereafter that these are not the only vowels; and of course there are many more syllables terminating in vowels.

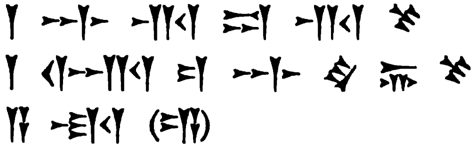
§ 4. The sentence which occurs most frequently in the inscriptions II.—VII. is the following, which is found in them no less than 41 times, and which also begins the detached inscription, VIII. It is divided into three groups by the circumstance, that in 25 or 26 of the places where it occurs, the middle group, as I have divided them, is wanting; in accordance with which it is to be observed, that in the inscription VIII., where the lines are short, and the sentence divided into three of them, each of the two first groups occupies an entire line.




(b)

I have continued to mark by parentheses characters which appear to be non-essential, and it will be seen that we have here a fourth vowel, . I must observe, that the first word is often written with in place of the two characters . It would appear that this was done for the purpose of saving room.

§ 5. As the inscription XII. commences in the same manner as those in the series, it is natural to expect that a sentence which occurs here so frequently should not be wanting there. It is not to be met with, however; but in lieu of it we have the following in line 25; and of the three groups into which I have divided it, the first occurs at the end of line 6, and the third at the beginning of line 7, the second being omitted. In Mühlbach's inscription, this last abbreviated sentence is found three times, lines 6, 21, and 34; in two of which places the final vowel is omitted.

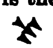

(c)

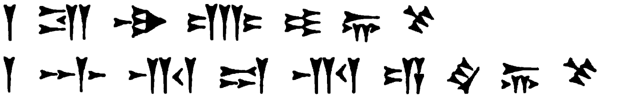
On comparing this sentence with the former, we find that the last word is the same in both; that the conclusion of the second group is the same in both; that the former part of the second group in *c*, is the same as the former part of the first group in *b*, and that the remainder of the first group, a termination, is also the termination of the first group in *c* and of the second groups. Now, when we combine these facts with the remarkable one, that the initial character in all the first and second groups is the non-phonetic prefix, which begins Median and Babylonian names of men, we cannot, I think, fail to conclude that the third group is a verb; that the first group is the proper name of a man, probably a king, which is its subject; and that the second group is either a proper name in the genitive with a noun signifying son, or else a patronymic adjective. But what verb can occur, in connexion with one and the same subject, so often as forty-one times in six columns of about 350 lines? The analogy of the Behistun Inscriptions would lead us to expect the word "says;" and no other is admissible. It is, then, to be presumed that the meaning of the

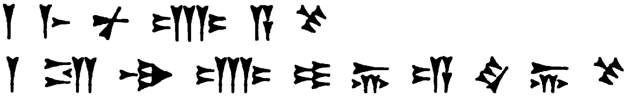
sentence *b*, is, "B, the son of C, says," and of *c*, "A, the son of B, says."

§ 6. To test the accuracy of this conclusion recourse may be had to the inscription XLII. which I have also pointed out as beginning in the same manner as those already noticed. Here, again, we have a sentence not identical with either of the preceding, but analogous to them. In lines 6, 12, 18, 29 we find,

(*d*)

The first group here is the former part of the second group in *b*, with the usual termination  annexed to it. The sentence would accordingly signify "C says." In XVII. we meet with this proper name followed by a group similar to that which is second in the former sentences; and this preceded by a similar pair of groups. The four groups occur in the same order in several places in the inscription, (see lines 28 and 29, and again 32 and 33,) but the preceding verb never follows them. The groups are,



and, 

These would be "D, the son of A," and "C, the son of D." It would appear as if the kings D and C reigned together for some time, the father having taken his son into partnership with him in his old age. It appears also that the father of D had the same name as his great-grandson.

§ 7. It was remarked by Grotefend that the Van Inscriptions differed in style. In some there were intersecting wedges; in others two wedges, one on each side of a wedge or wedges, were substituted for a single wedge intersecting them, as for , for . Grotefend correctly inferred that the inscriptions in which the wedges intersected were the more ancient, and this inference may now be tested by what has just appeared respecting the order of the kings who speak in the several inscriptions. In fact, all the inscriptions in which A and B are the speakers have non-intersecting wedges; and so also have most of the inscriptions of C. Some of these, however, and the inscription XVII., while C still reigned

in conjunction with his father, have intersecting wedges. So, too, have the more ancient inscriptions XXXVI. and I., which have yet further marks of difference in the characters. Of these two inscriptions the former bears the name D, which occurs four times, twice in each of its two lines which surround a circular stone. It is badly copied, and has also been much injured by having crosses cut in it over the inscription; but a very material variation of the king's name is found in it. The last character is in place of . *This* difference cannot affect the identity of the name; but the father's name in this inscription differs so much from the name in XVII., XII., and M, that I am not quite sure that this inscription was the work of the father of C; it may have been the work of a more ancient king of the same name. However this may be, the king named in I., is clearly the same as the father of the king in XXXVI.

§ 8. The following then is the order of the inscriptions in point of antiquity.

I, - - - - XXXVI, - - - - XVII, D and C.

XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, (mostly fragments). C.

The above have intersecting wedges.

XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLII. C.

II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII. B.

XII, XXXVIII, XL, XLI, M. A.

Far the greatest number of inscriptions bear the name of C; but they are mostly fragments, and of little importance. I should observe, as Grotefend has already done, that the three inscriptions XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV, on three sides of an altar, are in fact but one inscription, each three lines being regarded as one.

§ 9. The means by which the values of the different characters are to be ascertained are the following; and it is desirable that different means should be applied to each character, in order to attain as complete certainty as possible.

1st. Comparison of the characters with Median and Babylonian ones similarly formed. It is a fair presumption that a character had the same value at Van as in Media and Babylonia, where it had the same value in both places; and also, that when it was only used in one place, it had at Van the same value as there.

2nd. Interchange of characters, and different modes of writing the same word.

3rd. The principle of the vowels, explained in § 3. As the values of the Babylonian characters are often very uncertain as respects their vowel elements, this principle is particularly serviceable with respect to them.

4th. Comparison of names of countries with their equivalents in other languages.

5th. Grammatical forms compared with those in cognate languages.

With respect to the two last, there is need of great caution. They are rather to be considered as tests of the correctness of values already ascertained, than as means of investigating values; until, a large number of values being already established, and also in the latter case the languages to which that of the inscriptions is cognate being clearly ascertained, these may be used as helps to ascertain the remaining characters.

§ 10. I begin with ⋟⋹ which we have already seen to be a vowel, and to terminate the compound sounds expressed by ⊢⊢Y⊢, ⟨Y⋟Y⋟, ⊢YY⟨Y and Y⊢. Now the character itself, as well as ⊢YY⟨Y in which it inheres, are easily recognized in both Median and Babylonian. In Median, the character ⋟⋹ is of rare occurrence, as indeed all vowels are; but little doubt can exist as to its value from the common character ⋟⋹YY representing *ya* in *dahyaush* and *ariya*, which is plainly compounded of it and of the character corresponding to YY. In Babylonian, the value of the character before us, ⋟⋹, L. 12*, is evident from its commencing the 3rd person singular masculine of verbs, as well as from its being an element in ⋟⋹YY, L. 249, which in form and value exactly corresponds to the Median *ya*, ⋟⋹YY. This value of ⋟⋹ is confirmed by that of ⊢YY⟨Y, in which we have seen that it is the terminal vowel. This last character corresponds to the Median ⊢YYY⟨, and to the Babylonian ⊢YY⟨Y, L. 73. The value of the Median character is determined by its use in *bakhtarish* and *ariya;* and, so far as the consonantal part is concerned, the Babylonian character is equally certain, occurring after *da* in the

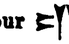
* I use L. to express "Lapidary." The lapidary characters are numbered according to the list of 287 characters which occur in the Great Inscription at the India House, published many years ago by the East India Company.

names of *Darius* and *Gadara*. We may consider it then as certain that [cuneiform] is the vowel *i;* perhaps not to the exclusion of *y* or *ya;* and that [cuneiform] is *ri*.

§ 11. The value of [cuneiform] as a vowel is easily determined from the Median and Babylonian. The Median equivalent [cuneiform] represents the syllable before *n* in the transcription of *dahyunâm* or *dahayunâm;* and though Westergaard valued this as *yu*, and I adopted this value myself formerly, I now think it to have been simply *u;* at any rate it must have in the present inscriptions a simple vowel value, and the only one consistent with the Median value is *u*. The Babylonian character, [cuneiform], L. 46, is very clearly an equivalent of the Hebrew ו, whether as a semi-vowel or a vowel. It begins the name of Ormazd, after the non-phonetic prefix, in H.; and in NR. 12, it terminates the name *Partha*wa. We have seen that [cuneiform] terminates with this vowel. Now this letter will be found on comparison to correspond to the Babylonian character, [cuneiform], L. 28, which terminates one of the words used to express "created" in the passage which commences the principal inscriptions, and which occurs in the middle of the other[1]. That the consonant in the value of this character is *n* can admit of no doubt: for it terminates the name of Ionia (*Yawa*nu), and it is replaced by a common and well-established form of *n*, [cuneiform], L. 140, in the word "created" in K. 4. I accordingly give to [cuneiform] the value *nu*. Another character in which [cuneiform] inheres is [cuneiform]. This appears from comparing IV. 45 with V. 13, 41. Now this character is evidently identical with a Babylonian one, [cuneiform], L. 260, which in the name of Ormazd, as written in l. 10 of Flandin's 86th plate, (one of the copies of D,) is substituted for the usual character, [cuneiform], L. 268, which begins the name of Darius[2].

[1] The words are יתכנו *ithkunu*, and יבנו *ivnu'u*. Both seem to be plurals; as are most nouns and verbs referring to gods or kings. The variation in K 4, is singular.

[2] This is a mistake. I am now quite satisfied that Flandin has given an erroneous copy of this part of the inscription. He has taken into the tenth line characters which in the original stood below the true ones, in the twelfth line, where they compose the word *maduta*, "many." The argument, therefore, which I have given in the text, for this character having the value *du*, is of no weight

And it is well worthy of notice that, this change having been made, the sculptor substituted , our , for the vowel or semi-vowel which usually concludes the name. In several other words in the Babylonian inscriptions we have followed by . A similar character occurs in one Median word, D. 16, where its value is necessarily a syllable beginning with *t* or *d;* and I think we may be pretty confident that both there and at Van it was *tu* or *du*.

§ 12. There remain two characters, which on the principle laid down in § 4 are vowels; namely, and . The former is perfectly identified with the Babylonian character, L. 4, which, after the non-phonetic prefix, begins the names answering to *Auramazhdâ* and *Hakhâmanishiya;* and which is sometimes, but not always, inserted in the name of Darius after each of the syllabic characters *da* and *ya*. It is then the Hebrew א, both as a breathing, and as representing the long vowel *â*. The other character corresponds to the Babylonian one, or , L. 135, which in the Persepolitan Inscriptions begins the word "I made," and that answering to *jadiyâmi* in NR. 34. The preceding character begins other first persons singular; and it would thus appear that both characters were used alike as a breathing at the beginning of words; but alone appears capable of being used as long *â* in the middle of a word. Now as these two vowels, and , are inserted, with a view to lengthen words, after distinct characters, they could scarcely have been equivalent. I accordingly value them as *â* and *a;* making the former, on account of the use of the identical Babylonian character as *â*. The Median character was valued by Westergaard as *h*, and by myself as *i*. This value, however, I corrected to *a*, on account of the word , which I formerly read *ik;* but I have since observed that is always used for *k* after *i*, and that requires an *a* to precede it. I accordingly read the transcribed Persian words,

whatever. I have, however, no doubt at all that this is its value. It occurs in the name of King Nebuchadnezzar, on Babylonian cylinders, between *ku* and *r.ru;* and, as three concurrent *r*'s are inadmissible, it can have no consonantal value here but *d*. The Median character of like form begins with *d* or *t*, which affords a strong presumption that it does so too; and that it ends with *u* appears, independently of the Van Inscriptions, from the above-mentioned word *maduta;* which is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, a *u* after it. (April, 1848.)

in which the character occurs, *da.a.ush. da.a.unam,* and in 'NR, *da.a.yaush.* It is possible that the Median [cuneiform] is the equivalent of our [cuneiform]; but the value of that Median character is unknown, and its equivalence with [cuneiform] is very doubtful.

§ 13. The long *â,* [cuneiform], inheres in many characters, which closely resemble Babylonian ones. Such is [cuneiform], already mentioned in § 3, which is identical with the Median [cuneiform] or [cuneiform], *ba* in ba*birush,* and *pa* in *wishtâ*spa; and with the Babylonian character, [cuneiform], L. 111, which represents *ma* in *Auramazhda, wâ* in *uwârazhmish,* and *ba* in ba*birush,* on some of the Babylonian bricks. Whether it had any or all of these values is best ascertained by examining the names of countries which occur in the inscriptions. These are distinguished precisely as in Babylonian, by the non-phonetic prefix [cuneiform] = [cuneiform], L. 23, being prefixed to them. Another non-phonetic prefix [cuneiform] is prefixed to names of cities. This is not used, there being no occasion for it, in any of the Achæmenian Inscriptions but those at Behistun, where in all probability it is to be met with. In Botta's Plates it is very common, and there it also represents the word "a city," as the preceding character, to be read *bâ,* represents the word "a country." Now one of the countries most frequently named is found written [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform]. See IV. 47, V. 68. Elsewhere [cuneiform], and another character, apparently [cuneiform], are substituted for [cuneiform]; compare VI. 60, V. 35, and observe the similar termination in III. 12. The close of the word in all these instances is marked by the end of the line, or by the commencement of some known word. From the above variations of the name we may infer that [cuneiform] [cuneiform], the last being a syllable terminating in *â,* is the root of this proper name, and it would appear that [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] [cuneiform] are case-endings; and this supposition is fully confirmed by our observing, that the three names of kings, A, B, and C, which, when subjects of the verb "says," terminate in [cuneiform], are all found with [cuneiform] in the place of [cuneiform]. See II. 20; XII. 3, and XLII. 5; and with different terminations, II. 18; XII. 2, or M, 3; and XXVIII. 4. The word also which begins the inscriptions (see *a*), and which I take to terminate in [cuneiform], (for the following characters are frequently found detached from it, as in

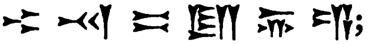
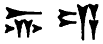
II. 6, 9), occurs in other places with different characters in the place of [cuneiform]; as, *e. g.*, [cuneiform], the termination of the nominative in the kings' names, is found in XIII. 15; while in V. 25, 47, we have [cuneiform] [cuneiform] in its stead; the last character being the same as in the second case of the name of the country before us. The omission or change of the final [cuneiform] in the kings' names, when they occur in the second group, will probably occur to all my readers as confirming this idea of the language having case-endings. In order, then, to show its Indo-Germanic affinities, it will only be necessary to show that the terminations which we have found for the nominative and other cases are similar to those in other Indo-Germanic languages. Deferring this till a future section, I proceed to consider the name before us. From the frequency with which the name occurs, no name is more likely to correspond to it than that of the adjoining country of Media. The first character in the name favours this supposition; for it is that which begins the name of this country at Persepolis, Nakhsh-i-Rustam, and in the Khorsabâd Inscriptions; and the last character cannot be inconsistent with it, for it is like none in either the Median or the Persepolitan syllabaries. I accordingly give it for its value, or at least for one value, *dâ;* while the value *mâ* among others must be assigned to [cuneiform].

§ 14. Another name of a country which begins with [cuneiform] is found in III. 18. It is [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform]. The form of [cuneiform] is identical with that of the Babylonian character which represents *ar* in the names of Xerxes and Artaxerxes. The latter is not only found on the Venice Vase, but the beginning of it has lately appeared in a fragment copied by Lottin de Laval, on the cover of a late work of Löwenstern. After this it cannot reasonably be doubted that [cuneiform] is *ar*. The distinction between [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] is in this word very marked, but in some other places where the former should occur, the latter has been substituted for it by the copyist. The former is perhaps the same as the Babylonian [cuneiform], L. 200, (cf. III. 41, of the great inscription at the India House, with its transcription in Porter,) which occurs several times in the Third Persepolitan Inscriptions; but I am unable to fix its value from any Babylonian data. I think, however, that the present name

must be read *pârthawâ* or *pârthuâ*, giving to [cuneiform] the value *pâ* as well as *mâ*, and to this character *tha* or *thu*. I prefer the former for a reason that will hereafter appear. I take [cuneiform], of course, for a case-ending.

§ 15. There is a very common name of which the radical part appears to be [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform], leading to the inference that *â* is the vowel with which [cuneiform] terminates. It occurs III. 41, and V. 43, with and without [cuneiform] and followed by [cuneiform] [cuneiform]; in IV. 11 it has [cuneiform] [cuneiform] in place of the two last characters; and in XII. 3 the word occurs twice; the first time probably as in IV. 11, though the copyist has substituted a different and I believe non-existing character for [cuneiform]; the second time with a different termination from any that we have yet. [cuneiform] is evidently the Median [cuneiform]; the value of which I had fixed as *na* long before I examined the Van Inscriptions, though in my original Median alphabet I made it *sar*[1]. The Babylonian character with which it agrees is either [cuneiform], L. 192, or [cuneiform], L. 229, of both of which the consonantal value is unquestionably *n*. As [cuneiform] is one of the letters after which [cuneiform] is inserted *ad libitum*, its value must be *na*. It is possible, however, that it may also admit the value of simple *n*; and this I believe to be the case not only in this instance, but in others where a consonant has a short *a* inherent in it. We have seen that this is a case-ending; and *n* appears more likely to be such than *na*. The name of the country is now known except as to the value of the consonantal part of [cuneiform]. It is *a-âna*. Now, considering that Armenia was, like Media, a country bordering on that of the inscriptions, and that this name is written in very various ways in the different Cuneiform languages, and in Greek and Hebrew;—*Armina* and *Armaniya* in Persic; *Harminiya* in Median; *Manaya* in Babylonian (Botta); Ἀρμενία in Greek; and מני in Hebrew; considering this, I say, it will not be surprising if the name of this country should be

[1] It is most probable that the Median value is *nar*; the final *r*, which had very much the nature of a vowel, being often assimilated to the consonant which began the following syllable. See the following note. (April, 1848.)

expressed by *Amâna,* taking for an equivalent of . I consider this character to be equivalent to the Babylonian lapidary 183, which generally commences the name of Babylon on the bricks and in the great inscription at the India House. In fact, if the three horizontal wedges be written twice, one set under the other, we shall have a cursive equivalent of L. 183, which was in use in the age of Nebuchadnezzar. Now in XII. 4 we have the name ; and in the following line the name occurs again with after , and  omitted, which must therefore be a case-ending, or a distinct word. That is the vowel with which terminates appears from the common word ; comp. VIII. 3, M. 35. The value of can scarcely be mistaken, it being identical in form with , L. 225, which represents the second syllable in the name of Babylon on several of the bricks. We have, then, only to give the value *ru* to the unknown character , which we have found already to terminate in *u,* and the name will be *babiru.* This confirms the supposition that and are equivalent, and shows that they have both the values *mâ, bâ,* and *pâ.* I believe that this character corresponds to the Babylonian L. 163, which has the same value. That character is sometimes formed in such a way as to have some degree of similarity to the one before us.

§ 16. Among the names which begin with the prefix , determinative of cities, that which is most easily recognized is ; which occurs several times. It is found in M. 19 followed by another proper name, which fixes its termination. The new character is well known as having the value *ni*[1], and

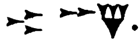
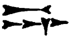
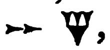
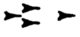
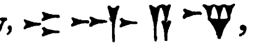
[1] The value of this character, and of its equivalents signifying "king," can, I think, be proved to be *nir* or *nil;* but the terminal sound was, as in many other instances, assimilated to that of the consonant which commenced the following syllable. Thus it should be read *nis* in *A.khama.'n.nis.si.ya* and *nin* in the word before us, *nin.nu.wi.* In Median, we must either suppose that this kind of assimilation prevailed to a great extent, or that *ar, an, am,* and *ang* were undistinguished. I incline to the former supposition, for reasons which it would be out of

when alone signifying "king" in all the Babylonian writings. The two first characters are then *ni.nu*. It might be thought that [cuneiform] was equivalent to [cuneiform], as it generally follows syllables terminating with this vowel. It is inconsistent with this, however, that in the common word [cuneiform], of which the two first and two last characters may be read *âlu-nan*, [cuneiform] is inserted after [cuneiform] in IV. 51; cf. M. 9, where it is wanting, as it generally is. This word is obviously from the same theme as [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform] noted in the last section; and if we compare with these two words [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform], found in XL. 1 in a similar context with the first of them, and [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform] in XIII. 15, we must conclude that the case-ending [cuneiform] must begin with *w*, and that the vowel after this is probably *i*. A theme in *i* giving *inan*, one in *u* may be expected to give *uwinan*, seeing that *something* is interposed between *u* and *nan*. This is confirmed by observing that the word [cuneiform] occurs in VIII. 12 without a vowel; while in XXXII. 3 we have [cuneiform] with the vowel *i* inserted; and these appear to be inflections of the same word. I accordingly give to this character the value *wi*. The name is thus *Ninuwi*. It is remarkable that the corresponding name in hieroglyphics terminates with *two leaves*, *i*; and that in Botta's plates with [cuneiform]. This is equivalent to the *two leaves*, *i*, as [cuneiform] itself is to the *single leaf*, ȧ.

place to bring forward. I think that the final *r* sometimes retained its sound and sometimes took that of the following consonant; but I cannot admit that it took that of a nasal, when a nasal did not follow. I read *ad.da.ra*, not *an.da.ra*, for *Gadâra;* the proper value of the first character being unquestionably *ar;* and if this be the first character of the name of Cambyses, as I have been told, I should there read it *ab*, not *am*. It seems to me highly probable that the terminal *r* *might* be sounded with its proper value before any consonant. We have for examples, *Hardastana*, *Harbaya*, *Harminiya*, *Karka*, and *Parsa*, in all of which the *r* was probably sounded; and it *must* have been so in the name of Xerxes, when written, as it often is, with an *s* between the *ar* and the *sa;* for a concurrence of three *s*'s is quite inadmissible. There can be little doubt that terminal *n* was also assimilated, when it preceded *r* and probably *s;* but it was certainly sounded in the verbal termination *nti*, where it is characteristic, and I presume before all consonants but those which I have mentioned. I believe these facts respecting Median and Babylonian assimilation have not been stated; and it will be of importance in our present enquiries to keep them in view. (April, 1848).

§ 17. Before proceeding any further, I think it right to examine some of the case-endings which we have discovered, in order to determine the character of the language. That of the nominative singular is , which we have found following the four vowels, *a* (§ 4), *â* (§ 6), *i* (§§ 4, 5, 13), and *u* (§ 16). It appears from § 7 that is equivalent to , and the latter is clearly identical in form with the Median , occurring in Wi*sh*tâspa, *s*tâna, *S*kudra, &c., and having the value *s* or *sh*. There is also a Babylonian character of nearly the same form, , L. 90, which is found between *ni* and *si* in the name *Hakhâmanisiya*, and which the value *s* will very well suit. The character itself is almost identical in form with a Median letter, , which follows *k* in the name of Xerxes, *Khshayârshâ*, and must therefore have had the value *sa* or *si*. I formerly gave it the latter of these; but this was because I took for granted that it was the initial character in the name of India, *Sindus*. On examining into Westergaard's statement, I think it probable that this incomplete character should be completed differently; and, as there are other unquestionable instances, in which the Median writing omitted to express a *y* in the middle of a word, I see no objection to the value *sa*, as that of the Median . The final vowel might be dropped at the end of the word as was that in *na*, under similar circumstances. Now, in all the Indo-Germanic languages, the normal termination of the nominative singular is *s*, though in some of them it disappears, either altogether, or after certain vowels, or except when followed by certain consonants in the following word. We cannot then, I think, hesitate to perceive in this termination of the nominative a second analogy with this family of languages; the first being the circumstance of its having its nouns inflected at all. Again the termination *n*, which we have found to be that of another case, replacing *s* after both *â* and *i*, is an admissible form of the accusative, which so terminates in Greek and Lithuanian, while in Latin, Persian, and Sanskrit, the labial nasal *m* is substituted for this dental one. In Sanskrit, indeed, as usually written, with a point for anusvara, the termination of the accusative may be considered ambiguous; but the Kapur di Giri Inscription has in place of the point what is evidently a modification of *m*. I mention this as the first proof that though the language is of the Indo-Germanic family, we are not to assume its being particularly connected with the

eastern branch of the family, but should look also to western analogies. We have seen in the preceding section, that another case terminates in *inan* and *uwinan* from themes in *i* and *u*. This agrees with the Sanskrit; for the genitives plural of themes in *i* and *u* terminate in *înâm* and *ûnâm;* the lengthening of the first vowel being explained by the contraction which appears to have taken place. It has not yet been proved that the cases ending in *n* and *nan*, are the accusative singular and genitive plural respectively; but the analogy already proved to exist between the language of the inscriptions and those of the Indo-Germanic family fully warrants us in provisionally assuming that this is the case.

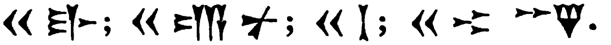
§ 18. I now come to consider an important proper name, which begins with the characters . These are followed by  in III. 53 and IV. 25, and in IV. 31 by . The last character is probably a non-essential vowel; for it appears from comparing IV. 52 and V. 53. that is a syllable terminating in *u*. Leaving it for future consideration how far the word extends in each place, I observe that the three first characters are identical with those which at Nakhsh-i-Rustam begin the name corresponding to the Persian *Athurâ*. They are then followed by the character which I have identified with , and which there terminates the name of Babylon also. The same name is written in Botta's Inscriptions for the most part in the same way; but in one place I have observed that is omitted; while with the affix of the first person singular , *ya*, takes its place, giving " my city Atthur." This proves that it was the name of a city, as well as of a country. The two first characters of this name are generally written together, as if they were one; and it appears at other times as if the division should be into , both which characters actually occur. But the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription distinguishes them as I have done; and they are clearly so distinguished in some of the Ninevite Inscriptions. On the bricks from Mousul, the name is written sometimes , omitting the final letter, and sometimes  only, the first letter with the determinative prefix being used for the whole word. Again, in one of Botta's Plates, we have in place of the name of the country, , which I read *Bâ Áthâ*,

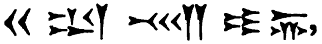
"the land of Attha." I take [cuneiform] to be in this place a noun, signiying "a country" or "province;" as the corresponding character is used in the plural in the Third Persepolitan Inscription, and in the singular with the affix of the first person singular for "my country" in the great inscription at the India House, IV. 58. The character [cuneiform] is used as a determinative prefix to names of gods; as, *e. g*, Ormazd, in both Median and Babylonian; and it is so repeatedly in these inscriptions; and likewise in those from Khorsabâd published by Botta, (see, *e. g.* XXVI. 11; I quote from the Journal Asiatique,) where we have [cuneiform] [cuneiform], followed by [cuneiform] with the same affix as I last mentioned, evidently meaning "Atthâ, my defender or guardian." Here the country is not referred to. Now, this double mode of spelling the name of the god ([cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] [cuneiform]) leads us to the mode of reading it; as the two must be, either exactly or very nearly, phonetically equivalent. We have seen that [cuneiform] is א, and [cuneiform] is in Babylonian certainly את, *ath*. It is in that language a preposition, signifying "at" or "in;" and seems clearly connected on the one hand with *ad*, *at*, and *ες* for *εθ* [1]; and on the other with the Hebrew preposition את. The phonetic equivalence between *a* and *ath*, when followed by [cuneiform], requires us to suppose that this is a syllable beginning with *th*, and I assign it the value *thâ*, for the following reason[2]. The character [cuneiform] is certainly equivalent to [cuneiform], which is *sa* in both Median and Third Persepolitan. In the Van Inscription it must be *sâ*, for [cuneiform] [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] are used alike; compare XLII. 41 and 43. Now, the difference between [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] is very similar to that between [cuneiform] and [cuneiform]. In both cases a wedge is added, and we may consider it as a diacritical mark, converting *s* into *th*. The characters expressing this sound with a following vowel were probably no part of the original syllabary, and they do not appear to have been

[1] Also with the Persian postposition *á*, which is placed after various locatives, as *withê-á*, *Mádishu-á*, &c. It is stated by Benfey that this is equally the case in the Vedas.

[2] It is very possible, however, that it is *thu*, in conformity with the Persian transcription, and with the اثور of Abulfeda. [I have now positive proof that it is *thur*; the name of the God is *Atthur*; that of the country *Ath.thur.ru* or *Athuru*. (April, 1848.)]

used in Median. That the compound name *Ath.thâ.ru*, Atthæ terra, should have been variously modified in foreign languages will, I think, occasion no surprise. Before I leave this subject I must remark, that the character , besides its value as a syllable, *sâ*, has a numeral value "four;" in this sense alone the corresponding lapidary character is used in the great inscription, though it occurs frequently as phonetic in the Assyrian and Third Persepolitan Inscriptions. In the Babylonian lapidary style it is constantly replaced by L. 273, which has no other equivalent in Third Persepolitan. The Assyrian of Botta's plates has two characters answering to L. 6 and L. 273, which are interchanged. The observation of this interchange led me to correct a false value which I had given to L. 273 in my alphabet of January last, and this gave me a great insight into the meaning of the inscription; for this important character is itself a word, and is one of the most common in the language.

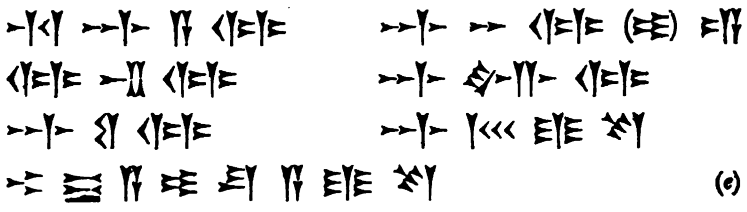
§ 19. On some of the bricks brought from Mousul, the king is styled  These are evidently four titles, the word "king" occurring in them all. The first signifies "the great king;" the last "the king of *Athâru*." The two intermediate ones contain genitives or adjectives, which I do not understand. One, if not both, of these words must be abbreviated. On other bricks, these characters are reduced to . The two first titles are here omitted, and the last abbreviated in the manner explained in the last section. In Botta's Plate XV., four titles occur, which are probably equivalent to those on the first-mentioned bricks. In these titles, here, as in Botta's other plates, different characters are substituted for *ni*, signifying "king." Independently of this, the first differs only in that the character , L. 46, is placed after , L. 39, as it is in all the Achæmenian documents, except in the inscription on the tomb of Darius, and on the cylinder in the British Museum. The second is identical with that on the bricks; the third has three characters in lieu of ; and the fourth only differs in the manner of writing the name of the country. In other similar inscriptions, Plates IX. and XIII., the two last of these titles are alone used, as on the other bricks. Now it is very remarkable that in some of the Van Inscriptions, these royal titles are found written precisely as in the Assyrian Inscriptions, without inflexions of any kind. It would appear as if these ancient

titles of royalty were adopted into other countries. The dynasty that reigned in this country was, I suppose, of Assyrian origin, and used Assyrian titles, which were introduced in their original form into inscriptions, which were otherwise in the vernacular dialect, which totally differed from the Assyrian. Something similar to this has, I believe, occurred in the case of the Greek kings of Bactria and the adjoining countries. In the oldest of the Van Inscriptions, I., which Schulz acknowledges to be incorrectly copied, we have in lines 1 and 2, after the name of the king and that of his father, followed by a character which occurs no where else, and which I presume was a mistake for . I have observed, that Schulz frequently substituted vertical for horizontal wedges and *vice versâ*. It is probable that in copying from the stone, in place of setting down the characters, he substituted figures expressing the number of wedges in each direction which the character had, and that this kind of short-hand was afterwards extended incorrectly. If this were not the case, he must still have used such a process mentally; for I have almost invariably found that he confounded characters which had the same number of wedges but in different directions. This title, which, as I have already stated, signifies in Babylonian, "the great king," is followed by the two titles of unknown signification, precisely as on the bricks; and then we have , "king," followed by , the determinative prefix of countries, and a name which seems to have been erased; which is at any rate illegible, but of which enough can be made out to show that it was neither *Athâru*, nor the name which I am about to bring forward. It was perhaps a name given to the country by the Assyrians, but not that which the people applied to it themselves. In XIV. 6 the first title is as on the bricks, and so in XIX. 5, XXVII. 5, XXIX. 6, XLI. 9; but in XIII. 6 the reading appears to be , which I should be disposed to read *ni bâya*, (king of the earth?) and which may have been a translation of the Assyrian title. The next title is sometimes omitted, and sometimes replaced by the following; , a word which appears to be in the Van language; but whether or not it be a translation of either of the Assyrian titles which occur in similar positions I cannot say[1]. In

[1] I am disposed to read this title *ni kâmuin*. The value of probably begins with *k*; for this character closely resembles that which at Nakhsh-i-Rustam

XLI. 9 another title follows, which is unfortunately illegible; last of all, in the place of the Assyrian *ni Athâru*, we have the following: [cuneiform], so written in XLI and M; in XXVII and XXIX an additional [cuneiform] follows the [cuneiform]; while in XIII. XIV. and XIX it is, evidently from want of room, abbreviated much more; the [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] being omitted. Probably it was thought that liberties might be taken with so common a word. The reading of the proper name, according to the four inscriptions, when it is fairly represented, seems to be *Bi.á.i.dâ.w.a;* though nothing hinders us from giving to the first syllable the value *mi*, *pi*, or even *vi*. It is probable that [cuneiform] [cuneiform] were combined into *ê*. The case seems to be the locative, which in the Behistun Inscription is generally used after the word "king" instead of the genitive[1]. The theme of the name cannot, I think, be determined, and whether it was *Biêda*, as I shall call it, or something different in the former or latter part, it seems evident that it is one which has not been preserved in history. We, therefore, need not expect to find any of the names of its kings in the lists given by ancient writers.

§ 20. The name of this country occurs with a different termination in another sentence, which occurs 13 times in the Khorkhor Inscriptions, and also in M 7—9. I will give the passage with an analysis of it. It consists of seven words, the two last of which are non-essential, like the patronymic after the king's name, they being sometimes omitted; and in some of the places where it occurs, it immediately follows the sentence (*a*), "B, the son of C, says." It is much mutilated in several of the places where it occurs; but a comparison of IV. 26, 50, V. 24, and 47 with M. 7, will enable us to produce it with absolute certainty.

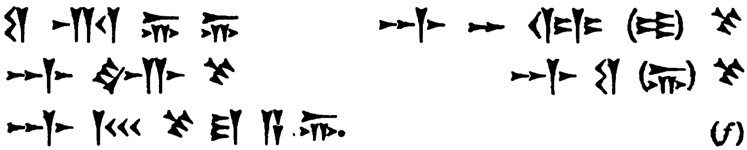


(c)

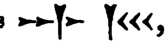
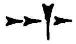
terminates the word corresponding to *Katpatuka*. The vowel of this character and the consonant of [cuneiform] are only conjectured.

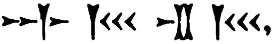
[1] See § 36.

The first word terminates with the line in V. 24 and M. 7, as does the third in V. 25, the fifth in V. 26, and the sixth in M. 8. The divisions at the end of the second and fourth words will appear to be correct, when the sentence is compared with the following, which occurs in VIII. 13–15, XLII. 33, 34, M. 37, 38, &c. I divide it into six words, of which the first terminates with the line in M. 37; the second in VIII. 14, the third in XIII. 15, the fourth in XLII. 33, the fifth in VIII. 15, and the sixth in M. 38. I do not say that this is a complete sentence, but from its being found with different passages before and after it, it may be regarded as one clause.



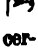
(f)

There are some errors in some of the passages, which I have corrected from the others; and as respects the third word there is a very important various reading, to which I must return hereafter. On comparing these two sentences, we clearly see that the second, third, and fourth words in the latter are nominatives; and from the determinative prefix which they all have, it seems that they are the names of gods; while in the first sentence, the second, fourth, and fifth words are those same names of gods in some oblique case, as if governed by a verb. The characters , which commence the words which immediately follow these divine names signify in Babylonian "the Gods;"  being not only a determinative prefix, but representing also the word "God," which in Median was *nab* or *nabbi*, in the plural *nabbinu*, and in Babylonian *nabi* or *nabu*. It is natural, then, to think that is the plural theme of the noun; which when followed by , represents the plural nominative, which terminates, like the singular, in *s* in the Indo-Germanic languages generally; while when followed by it represents the same case in the plural, of which is the termination in the singular. The seventh word in the first sentence would of course be a gentile adjective "*Biẽdian*" in the same case; and thus we see how the two last words are non-essential. The sentence is complete, when the verb, which we must suppose the first word to be, is followed by its regimen in the next four words; but the explanatory addition "the

Biêdian Gods," in the same case but in the plural number, is in most instances added. The verb, which must be in the first person singular, may mean "I pray," "I honour," "I thank," or the like, any of which may be followed by a dative, which is certainly the most likely case for the nouns to be in, since they have not the termination of the accusative. That the third word is in the same case with that which precedes it is sufficiently obvious; it is an abbreviated Babylonian word declined in this language. The meaning is "protector or defender." It occurs in a passage already cited from Botta, "Atthâ my defender;" elsewhere in the same inscription we have , "the gods defenders" or "guardian gods;" and in the great East India Company's Inscription, IV. 35, Nebuchadnezzar constitutes , the second of the gods here mentioned, the , "guardian or patron," of a certain place belonging to him. I conclude, then, before investigating the reading of the words, that the meaning of the first sentence (*e*), is to this effect—"I ——, to X. the guardian, to Y. to Z. the Biêdian Gods."

In the second sentence the four words after the first are nominatives; the first, then, is probably a verb, and the sixth its object. The last consists of known characters, and reads *mân* or *bân*. The former of these is just what we should expect for the accusative of the pronoun of the first person, which in Persian and Sanskrit is *mâm*; the most likely object, when we recollect that this is part of the king's speech; and being the conclusion of it, this passage always occurring near the end of the inscriptions, it is probably some form of blessing. "May X. Y. Z. the Gods, —— me."

§ 21. There appears at first to be a great objection against the view that I have taken of the construction of the sentence *e*; the first word, which I take to be a verb in the first person singular, terminating in the same manner as what I take for datives singular. In fact, however, this difficulty is only apparent. From the equivalence of to it is plain that terminates in *i*; this gives for the verbal termination *â*-*i* with an intervening consonant, which the analogy of cognate languages requires to be *m*. This language, as we have seen in the case of and does not distinguish between *m* and *b*. The termination of the dative singular might then be *bi*; and this is by no means inconsistent with what we know of the cognate languages. It is probable that the old Greek dative ended in ϝι and the Latin in *bi*. Traces of the former are to found in

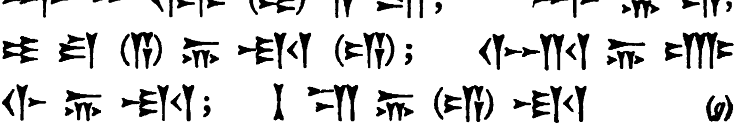
ἴφι for ϝίϝι from ϝίς, and θεόφι for θεόϝι. The dative of the reciprocal pronoun, οἷ, when compared with the Latin *sibi*, points to the old form σϝόϝι; and I might give other instances. It appears that while the abbreviated themes form the dative by adding or changing *s* of the nominative into *bi* (which is analogous to the change of ος into οϝι, contracted ultimately into ῳ; for these contracted themes probably terminated in *a* or *â*) the theme in *i* in the second word formed a dative in *iabi*. In the corresponding Greek declension the dative originally terminated in εϝι, contracted into ει, which is analogous to *abi*; for the Biêdian, as well as the Sanskrit, short *a* corresponded to both ε and ο in Greek. The termination, then, was originally the same; but the last vowel of the theme was dropped in Greek. Let us now pass to the dative plural. Its termination consists of the two characters . The first is, in the older style, identical with the Babylonian character which terminates the name of Cyrus. It is there preceded by , L. 95, which occupies the second place in the name *Zharanga*, and is found before *ta* or *âta* the name of the River Euphrates, *Phrata*. It is pretty certain that the value of this latter was *ra*, and we may therefore assume that our was *as* or *âs*. This is confirmed by the interchange of , L. 45, with , L. 11, before *da* in the Great Inscription at the East India House. Compare V. 19. and V. 41. The latter we have seen was *ath*; and the former must therefore have been *as*, since *Kurath* is inadmissible for Cyrus. In fact *athda* and *asda* are very easily confounded. In confirmation of this value of I compare it with the Median , which I am persuaded was the same character, the three horizontal wedges being placed on one side of the vertical one instead of on both[1]. This is analogous to what has taken place with regard to the character , L. 44, (written in the later inscriptions at Van,) the last element in *Wishtâspa*, and the second in *Saparda*, as the name is written at Khorsabâd. The corresponding Median character is , of which the value is *pa*. Now the value of the Median was cer-

[1] In confirmation of this, the compound character (see § 39) may be compared with the Median , which has the same value. The first four wedges in each correspond; and the remainder are what we have now before us. (April, 1848).

tainly *as*. It is uncertain from what has been yet said, whether the vowel before *s* was long or short; but as the old Greek dative terminated in *εσσι*, it is to be supposed that the *a* was short. Of course, however, if a long *â* preceded it, as that which inheres in [cuneiform], this would make the short one to disappear; [cuneiform] [cuneiform] must be read *dâs*. The other character in this termination, [cuneiform], seems to correspond with [cuneiform], L. 275, which is interchanged with [cuneiform], L. 225, *bi*. This would lead us to think that [cuneiform] was a homophone of [cuneiform] and [cuneiform]; but it is found in these inscriptions with [cuneiform] inserted after it (compare V. 19. and V. 44.) Accordingly it must have the value *ba* or *wa*. The dative plural then terminates in this language in *aswa;* and by analogy the old Greek terminated in *εσϝι*; where the *ι* represented *a*, as it does in the reduplication in *τίθημι*, and the like.

§ 22. The verb in the latter sentence is [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform]; the last three characters being already known to be *rinan*. There is some resemblance between [cuneiform] and [cuneiform], L. 105, which represents *par* in the names of Par*sa*, Par*thawa* and *Sa*par*da* at Nakhsh-i-Rustam. The resemblance to the cursive form used in the age of Nebuchadnezzar is still more striking; and that this is really its equivalent is, I think, certain from the words [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] at the beginning of M. 25.; which are two Babylonian words that frequently occur together in the Great Inscription at the India House, as well as in Botta's Inscription. They are in the lapidary characters 190. 52.; 190. 105.; compare III. 40, 45, 53, and Porter's transcript, which gives the words in cursive characters. The identity of form between [cuneiform] and the cursive equivalent of L. 190. and between [cuneiform] and that of L. 52. is obvious, whence [cuneiform] must be the same as L. 105. It appears that in this language the combination *par.ri* is equivalent to what we should write *pri;* the *r* having very much the nature of a vowel which may be expressed twice. I therefore read the word *prinan,* and I take it for a verb in the third person plural, *n* being the termination proper to the person, *na* a conjugational suffix, and *pri* the root. Now *prī*, पॄ, is a Sanskrit root, which takes the suffix *na* of the 9th conjugation; and it signifies, at least in the Vedas, not only "*to fill*"

but "*to defend*†." It would thus be equivalent to the Persian *pâtu*, which begins a sentence, occupying the same position in the Achæmenian inscriptions as *f* does in these which we are considering. A different sentence from this terminates the different inscriptions in the Khorkhor series; it concludes with the word ( ) ; V. 13. 41., for which we have, at the end of XII., the king's name in the nominative, with the patronymic, exactly as in *c*, and then in place of the verb "says," . It would seem that we have here the third person of a verb, of which is the first. We must suppose, then, that is a homophone of ; we have already found it to have the value *bi* in Babylon, and must now give that of *mi* also. In this there is no difficulty; but I confess that I cannot satisfactorily explain the termination of the third person singular in *n* or *na*. I should have expected to meet *ti* in its place. Is it possible that this is the nominative of the participle, the substantive verb being understood? The initial character of this word occurs in both Babylonian and Median, representing the first syllable of the name Zh*aranga* in the former; and in the latter representing in combination with *t* the middle syllable of *tacharam*. From this last word its value in Median is clearly determined to be *sha*, or *zha* which was not likely to be distinguished from it. It seems to have been a modification of , and has the same long vowel inhering in it as that has. I accordingly value it as *shâ*. The verb in the first person is then *shâdumi*, and in the third singular (or the nominative of the participle?) *shâdun*. I defer giving any attempt at explaining the sentence, of which this is the termination, but will copy it as it stands in XII. 28, 29., and V. 10–13., marking the divisions of lines, as there given, by semicolon.

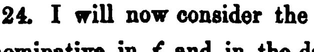

(*g*)

In the last word the character after is indistinct, but analogy shews that it can be nothing else than , the vowel which in other places without number follows . This is the reading in V. 13.

In VI. 32. we have this word written [cuneiform], and in XII. 29. V. 41., and most other places [cuneiform]. In III. 24. and IV. 45, it is evident that the second of these readings existed; the [cuneiform] is, however, destroyed in the former passage; and the [cuneiform] and [cuneiform], which are there quite perfect, have lost a wedge each in the latter passage. It is important to notice this; as it should satisfy any one that there are three genuine readings; and I will now compare them together. Let me first, however, observe that the new character [cuneiform] is identical in form with Median and Babylonian characters representing *si*; and is often followed by a non-essential [cuneiform] *i*. There can, therefore, be no doubt that its value is *si*.

§ 23. The first of these readings compared with the second proves the identity of [cuneiform] and [cuneiform]. I have already given to the former the value *tha*; and it appears from § 5. that *a* is the vowel which terminates [cuneiform]. I at first gave this last character the value *da*, as it resembles the equivalent in the Assyrian Inscriptions of [cuneiform], L. 268., the initial syllable in the name of Darius; I find, however, that this equivalent is exactly copied in the character [cuneiform] As the two former characters which express the sound of *th*, [cuneiform] and [cuneiform], were derived from those which represent that of *s* by a slight alteration; so this is derived in a similar manner from one which expresses the sound of *d*. That the sounds *th* and *dh* are intermediate between the dentals and sibilants will be readily admitted. The verb signifying "says" is thus *âtha*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *âha*; and that the *h* in this word was originally *dh*, as in many other words, appears from the form of the second person, which is *âttha*. This is an important confirmation of the values given to the vowels [cuneiform] and [cuneiform]. A comparison of the third form of the word before us shews that [cuneiform] is equivalent to [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]). At first this appears scarcely credible; but when we recollect, what is fully proved, that the pronoun "I," *anaku*, is in Babylonian written indifferently with [cuneiform], L. 1. 113, and with [cuneiform], L. 4. 140., 113, giving [cuneiform] = *ana*, it becomes natural to expect a similar abbreviation in the present language. I conceive that the abbreviation consists in writing the ideograph for

"one" in place of the letters which compose the word signifying this idea. I presume that in Babylonian that word was *ana*. In like manner, *bi* was the Babylonian word signifying "two;" and, accordingly, the numeral for "two" is used to express the second syllable in the name of Babylon, on some of the gems, which represent the head of Nebuchadnezzar, encircled by his name and titles. In like manner, we may expect to find the word signifying "one" written at full length as above in the two first forms, and represented by the numeral character in the last. The characters composing their name are already valued with the exception of the first; they are *wina*. Now, that the first character is *u*, equivalent to , appears from the word of IV. 43., which in V. 8. is written . In another word, which I mentioned in § 15., this initial character is followed by , the more common form of *u*. The other form of it is equivalent to , L. 42., and occurs pretty often in the Babylonian Inscriptions, evidently as a vowel, but the distinction between *i* and *u* in Babylonian seems to have been often neglected. On the strength of this value of the Van character, I have corrected the Babylonian one from *i* to *u*. It thus appears that the first numeral in this ancient language was *uwina*, from which the Latin *ūna* is easily derived; as are also the Greek Ϝεν and the Lithuanic *wiena*. Whether *uwinatha* in this sentence is an inflection of the numeral, a distinct word, as unconnected with it as the Babylonian *anaku* with *ana*, or two distinct words, must be reserved for future inquiry.

§ 24. I will now consider the divine names, which are found in the nominative in *f*, and in the dative in *e*. The first name in the list is , the last three characters of which have been already valued as *bis*. This word has been found in the genitive plural, as there is ground for supposing, the case terminating in *binan*; see §§ 16, 17[1]. It would appear, then, that it is both a proper name, and also a common noun admitting a plural form. The first word in the sentence last quoted is evidently another inflection of the same noun; it terminates in *biâs*; and it is natural to suppose

[1] The supposed genitives plural *nabinam* and *âluwinam* occur in clauses which contain one other word only, and which are found in various contexts:—sometimes at the beginning of the inscription, followed by the clause "the king says." The second word in this clause terminates in *na*, and is, I presume, an instrumental, the clause signifying "permissu deorum" or the like. It cannot, therefore, I think, admit of doubt that this case is really the genitive plural.

that this is the accusative plural, the object of the verb *shâdumi*. Now, the character [cuneiform] is of value entirely unknown; there is nothing to hinder its being *na* or *nâ*, which would give us for the name of this god, the common noun *nabi*, which signifies "a god" in both Median and Babylonian, and which may very well have that value in this language also. In fact, if we read the name *navi*, which we are at liberty to do, it may be referred to the Sanskrit root *nu*, to worship, whence the Latin *nu-men*. It is not improbable, too, that the Sanskrit noun *ravis*, is a modification of this very word. The interchange of *r* and *n* in these languages is very common; and what more likely than that in a language which had "a star" for the hieroglyphic of "a god," the sun should be the principal deity, the *nabis* κατ' ἐξοχήν? That the Babylonians applied the generic word to a particular deity as his proper name, we happen to know from Is. xlvi. 1, where Nebo is mentioned; and the deities of this people were the same, or nearly so, as the Babylonian. It appears, then, that [cuneiform] is used as an abbreviation for [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform]; the last character being non-essential, because it is a vowel inhering in [cuneiform], and the first being here a non-phonetic prefix. The nominative and dative plural have, in place of the theme, [cuneiform] [cuneiform], which is phonetically equivalent to [cuneiform] or [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform], unless indeed the final vowel was lengthened. The declension is then—

SINGULAR.

Nom. [cuneiform] *nabis*.

Acc. [cuneiform] *nabin*.

Gen. Not found. (see § 28.)

Dat. [cuneiform] *nabiabi*.

PLURAL.

Nom. [cuneiform] *nabis* (or *nabîs*?)

Acc. [cuneiform] *nabiâs*.

Gen. [cuneiform] *nabinan*.

Dat. [cuneiform] *nabiaswa*.

In XIII. 15, the next name is written (or perhaps) ; and in XIV. 15, it is written (?) *Wa. i. s.* (?) *m. â. s.* The second syllable is not to be relied on; the word occurring but once, and the characters in the middle of it being incorrect or doubtful. Whether this be the name at full length, of which the ordinary form is an abbreviation, must remain open for future inquiry; but I think it probable. The next name is written ( ) , and should, I suppose be read Parnas or Prînas. This word is frequently abbreviated by the omission of the . The sentence, or clause, *f*, should, I conceive, be read as follows. I give it with an interlinear translation.

Prinan Nabis Waismâs Parnas, Nabis, mân.
Custodiant Nabis Veismâs (et) Parnus, Dii, me.

The remainder of the inscription after the last word is evidently a part of the same sentence; and on comparing it with the concluding sentences of several of the Persepolitan inscriptions, it is natural to expect that it should contain the copulative conjunction. Now the word occurs several times in this part of the different inscriptions. The first character in it, , is not the same as the Median , the horizontal wedge in that letter being at the bottom of the vertical one, whereas here it is in the middle. That character represents the syllable *wash* or *mazh;* neither the *w* and *m* nor the *sh* and *zh* are distinguished. I suspect that occurs in the Median NR. inscription, with the same value as here; but Westergaard has not distinguished it from . In my Babylonian alphabet I had given the value *k, g,* or *y,* to a character which corresponds to this. As an is inserted *ad libitum* after it, in the royal name C, which indicates that the syllable terminates in that vowel, I value it as *ki.* This gives, as might be expected, a form of the conjunction analogous to known Indo-Germanic ones, as the separate word *καὶ* and the enclitics *que* in Latin and *cha* in Sanskrit and Zend.

§ 25. The character is perhaps the most unsatisfactory one in the inscriptions, owing to its admitting so many different values.

It corresponds to the Star, which is the first and most remarkable character on the Babylonian bricks. Originally it probably signified "a star;" and this may be its meaning in the ideographic compound which signifies "heaven" in the great inscription at the India House and at Persepolis, [cuneiform] [cuneiform], L. 287, 135; meaning "the place (or abode) of the stars (or of the gods)." The signification "god" is, however, admissible in this compound; and it alone suits it in the Persepolitan, Babylonian, and Assyrian inscriptions. This was by no means the only cuneiform character that was originally ideographic. The lapidary character 182, answering to the Third Persepolitan [cuneiform], and our [cuneiform], is a rude representation of "a house," which the character signifies. It is often joined with [cuneiform], L. 39, meaning "great," forming the compound [cuneiform] [cuneiform] which occurs in the Van inscriptions repeatedly, as well as in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, in the sense of "great house" or "palace." Again, L. 91, our [cuneiform], is clearly a representation of a rampart and parapet; whence it signified "a fortified town;" and this list might be considerably increased. From the signification "god" or *nabi*, the character [cuneiform] easily passed to be a determinative prefix to names of gods, as of Ormazd in the Persepolitan inscriptions, and very many in the more ancient ones. But it is also used as a phonetic element in words; and here lies the great difficulty as to its use. In both Median and Babylonian it has the phonetic value *an*, as may be fully proved; and in *some* words in the Van inscriptions this value suits it as well as could be desired. For example, in the verb which begins the sentence *e*, which is [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform], the first character evidently corresponds to the [cuneiform] of the Median, which is interchanged with [cuneiform], answering to our [cuneiform]. Its value is *u*, which before a vowel would be *w*. Giving to the second character the value *an*, the word becomes *wanâmi;* which is an actual Sanskrit verb, signifying, according to Bopp, "colo, veneror, deditus sum," than which nothing could better suit the context. The sentence *e* is thus to be read and translated as follows:—

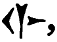
Wanâmi	*Nabiabi*	——*bi*	*Waismâbi,*	*Parnabi,*	*nabiaswa*
Deditus sum	Nabi	custodi,	Veismæ (et)	Parno,	Diis

Biâidâswa.
Biedicis.

There are other words in which the same phonetic value suits [cuneiform]; but there are others, especially proper names, where it has an *i*, [cuneiform], inserted occasionally after it, which seems to indicate that it expresses something terminating in that vowel. Whether that were *nabi*, *ni*, or *bi* or *mi*, I will not venture as yet to decide, there being arguments in favour of each of these suppositions. Provisionally, however, I have assigned it the value *ni*.

§ 26. We may now return to the royal names in the 4th and following sections. The sentence *b* begins with a name of which the first syllable is *Ar*, § 14, and the last *nis*, § 25. Between these we have indifferently [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] [cuneiform]. We have seen that [cuneiform] is *s*, and [cuneiform] must therefore terminate in *s*. Now, a character of like form, [cuneiform] L. 77, is used in the name of Artaxerxes, *Artakhchassi*, as it is in the Persian, on the Venice Vase[1]. It is there found after [cuneiform] *sá*, and before a character which certainly begins with *s*; it can, therefore, be nothing but *s* or *as*. The former of these values is inadmissible; for if [cuneiform] were equivalent to [cuneiform], the insertion of [cuneiform] before the latter word would be unaccountable. Consequently, [cuneiform] is *as*; and the name *Arasnis*. To bring the reading *Aras* from [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform], we must give to [cuneiform] the value of either *a* or *ra*; but if it were a single vowel it would occur much oftener than it does, and be interchanged with [cuneiform], which it never is.

[1] In most instances in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, L. 77 and its equivalent [cuneiform] are determinative prefixes of names of districts of country, smaller than those denoted by [cuneiform]. In the Median, two characters resemble that before us; but neither corresponds to it. One is [cuneiform] *ka* or *ga*; the other [cuneiform] *t*. It is to be observed, however, and the observation may be of great importance, that this last character is often used, like L. 77, as a determinative prefix. It takes the place of [cuneiform] before characters which the addition of a wedge like this would convert into different characters; as, *e. g.* before [cuneiform] or [cuneiform] which a prefixed [cuneiform] would convert into [cuneiform] or [cuneiform]. I believe that these two derivative prefixes [cuneiform] and [cuneiform] are exclusively used before words which literally or metaphorically denote place. (April, 1848.)

I therefore give it the value *ra*[1]. The only other character in this sentence which remains unvalued is , which is nearly identical in form with the character , L. 151, which begins the name of Xerxes, preceding , *si*. That the value of terminates with *a* appears from comparing XVI. 14 with XIII. 17. I therefore value it as *ka*. The sentence *b* thus becomes—

Arrasnis Kinuâkanas âtha.
Arrasnis Kinuæ filius dicit.

The latter part of the second group, *kanas* (or *ganas*—for it is questionable if *k* and *g* were distinguished), is allied to γονος or γενης; and *kinuâ* is the theme in its crude form, without any termination that might mark the junction. I cannot hesitate to consider the second word as a patronymic adjective. In the sentence *c* all the characters are known, but the beginning of the first word is doubtful for reasons mentioned in the last section. It is probably—

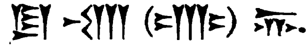
Niriduris Arrasni-kanas atha.
Niriduris Arrasnis filius dicit.

In the remaining royal name is unvalued. This may be *tu*, *pu*, or *ku;* and I think the last the most probable. It occurs also in the name of a country, *Kutapra*, as I incline to read it, of which it is the initial character. This may perhaps be connected with the *Khuta* of the Egyptian inscriptions and the *Kuthah* of Scripture. I read, then, the names in § 6.—

Kinuâs Skuina-kanas.
Kinuas Scuwini filius.

§ 27. The word or , which last two characters I regard as equivalent, occurs very frequently. It

[1] As I understand that doubts have been entertained as to this being the true value of this character, I think it right to add that there is positive evidence that its Babylonian value was ר. In the contract published by Porter, the names of several parties occur in the body of the inscription and again under their respective seals. One of these names is written in one place with and in the other with ; and that this last is ר there can be no doubt. Whether or not the character sometimes stands by abbreviation for *rada* or *lada* is a distinct question; I believe it does. (April, 1848.)

is evidently a verb in the first person singular, and must mean "I appoint," or the like; answering to τίθημι, *dadhâmi* in Sanskrit. Now the first character is nearly identical in form with the Babylonian character , L. 72. which represents *tâ* in *Wishtâspa*. There is reason, however, to think that its vowel is *a*, and I accordingly give it the value *ta*; and suppose , in which a long *â* inheres, to be *tâ* or *thâ*. The word is thus *tathâmi*. This reading, not being as yet confirmed by any word in which occurs, is doubtful; but the doubt only affects the consonant contained in the value of that character; and the equivalence of the verb to τίθημι I consider certain[1]. The two first words of the inscription are then *Nabin tath(?)âmi, pono Nabim;* then come *bâwina asuria,* respecting the meaning of which, though I cannot speak with confidence, I will offer an opinion, that appears to me probable enough. I take these two words to be an accusative plural, connected with *Nabin* by the copulative conjunction understood, as in the sentences *e* and *f*. This conjunction was probably supplied by the reader in these well-known formulas. I suppose the theme of the former word to be *bawin*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *bhâvin*, "existens," and I take the latter to be a diminutive in the neuter gender from *asura*, corresponding to the Zend *ahura*, the Persian *aura*, and to the *asura* of the Veda dialect, which, according to Benfey, is used in the same sense, denoting a deity or being superior to men. The meaning is, then, I suppose, "the inferior deities that exist;" of which the *bagâha tyê kati* of the Behistun inscription, IV. 61. 63, is a translation; "the inferior deities, as many as there are." It is an objection to this explanation of the words, that the terminations are not those of the Sanskrit language, though they are of the Greek; but there are so many other instances, in which the language of these inscriptions approximates to the Greek, where they deviate from the Sanskrit, that I can lay very little stress on this objection; and it seems a confirmation of this translation that we have, at the beginning of another sentence, *Nabi*, , *Nabin asuri*, .

[1] I have since satisfied myself that this verb must signify "honour" or the like. There are reasons for giving the second character the value *pâ* or *phâ*, and there are others for giving it the value *shâ*. If the initial character of the Median name for *Zharanga* be the same as this (as Westergaard's statements render probable) the balance of evidence will be in favour of *shâ*; otherwise, I should lean to *pâ*, connecting the noun *tapâsina* (as the instrumental of a verbal in *si*) with the same root. (April, 1848.)

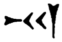
Although the word which I have expressed in cuneatic characters, and which terminates in *un*, is in XLII. 4. found in a separate line from that which precedes it, I am disposed to consider it as the latter part of a compound adjective or adverb, with which *Nabi* and *Nabin-asuri* can equally combine. If so, these must be words of kindred meaning, as *Nabis*, the supreme God, and *the divine spirits*, would be. I throw this out for the consideration of those who are better acquainted with the rules of Sanskrit composition than I am. I can at present offer nothing satisfactory as to the value of either [cuneiform] or [cuneiform]. I would thus translate the clause *a* which begins the inscription: "I admit, or acknowledge, Nabis and the inferior deities, whatever there are;" and I suppose the word [cuneiform] [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform], which generally follows this clause, to be a verb in the third person plural, perhaps signifying "to have subjected or rendered inferior[1];" for it takes a double regimen, one proper name of either a man or a country in the accusative, and another in a different case, which I suppose to be the genitive; for the dative has been found to terminate differently. The union of these two verbs without a conjunction to connect them seems strange; and I am not sure whether the reader was expected to supply the proper conjunction, or whether the language did not require it. At any rate, there are other undoubted instances of the same omission. Thus, in XII. 7. after "Niriduris says," we have [cuneiform] (the numeral) [cuneiform]; the last three characters are Assyrian, and signify "palaces;" then follow what appear to be the names of the three palaces; and then a similar sentence begins, [cuneiform] which is another Assyrian group

[1] It is *yâ-un*, the consonant of the second character being unknown. Can the root be akin to the Sanskrit *yachh* or *yam*? The second character is also found as medial in a verb [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) [cuneiform] *pa-umi*, which certainly corresponds to the Sanskrit *pâlayâmi* or the Gothic *fôdja*. The Sanskrit *l* is often a corruption of *d*; and is probably so here. This would give for the value of [cuneiform] *du* or *tu*; and indeed I have observed a place in the inscriptions where it seems interchanged with [cuneiform] and its undoubted homophone [cuneiform]. Probably, therefore, the word is *yâtun*. [It is *yârun*, i. e. *ya ârun*, the first being the relative pronoun in the nom. plural neuter, and the other a verb agreeing with it in the imperfect. The meaning is, I presume, *quæ dedêre*. (April, 1848.)]

signifying "cities, or fortified towns." The first word, which terminates in *mi*, can be nothing else than the verb signifying "I possess;" giving for the passage the translation, "I possess the three palaces, P, Q, and R. I possess twenty-three towns." Now in II. 6. we have this verb depending on *tathâmi*, much in the same manner as I have supposed the verb after clause *a* to do. We read *tathâmi Viâwakanabi ni Viâwakanabi ninudubi khâumi*, as I read the verb last cited. "I appoint (or prescribe, as a condition of peace) to Viâwakanas, the son of King Viâwas —— that I shall possess[1]." Whatever the meaning of *ninudubi* may be, I think it plain that it is a dative, in apposition with the name of the vanquished king, and contains no conjunction. The value of is determined from the name *Hakhâmanishiya* in the Third Persepolitan inscriptions; it being of the same form as the second character in that name after the determinative prefix; and from its taking *â* after it, *ad libitum*, in this word and elsewhere: see II. 25. I am not prepared to say of how many kindred values this character will admit; nor will I discuss the roots in other languages which are cognate to that before us.

§ 28. The case which I have supposed to be the genitive is found depending on in several words. In V. 42. we have the double regimen *Mâdân Amânaya*[2], and in V. 45. we have the same case of the patronymic, *Kinuâkanaya*. As we had in the last section a patronymic terminating in *kanabi*, it is plain that these are distinct

[1] This translation must be modified; yet I believe it to convey the true meaning of the original. It should be observed that the leading verb *tashâmi* (or *tapâmi*) here terminates with , while in the initial sentence previously quoted, it terminates in ; the latter was probably the ending of the transitive, the former of the middle voice. To *honour one's self on* a vanquished enemy may have been an idiomatic expression for *imposing terms on* him. The Greek *τίω*, which is "to honour" in the active, admits in the middle the sense of "imposing a penalty." That the verb here occurring has the sense of "honouring," or something very similar, is evident from a sentence in XLII. 5, 6, before the commencement of the king's speech. *Tashâmi Kinuâm Spuwina-kanan uru tashâyami nabin*, "I honour Kinuâs, the son of Spuwinus, as I would honour a god." This is a complete sentence. The form of the potential mood which it gives is interesting, and is I believe unique in these inscriptions. (April, 1848.)

[2] This genitive is often abbreviated . The ideographic prefix is here used as equivalent to , as the corresponding character is in the names of Babylon and Bactria at Nakhsh-i-Rustam; while the initial short *a* is dropped.

cases, and not variations in the case-ending in different declensions. Now, a genitive in *aya* from a nominative in *as* is exactly in accordance with Greek analogy, where we have in the oldest dialect *οιο* from *ος*. It is fair to state that the genitive of the patronymic is sometimes found without the final *ya;* but this I regard as a compendious mode of writing, permitted when there was a scarcity of room, and which the reader was expected to correct. The dative in one instance and the accusative in several are reduced to the single initial character [cuneiform]. In XXVIII. 4. we have *Kinuâya,* which is evidently the same case of *Kinuâs,* and in V. 45 we have the same case of *Arrasnis,* which is *Arrasni* [cuneiform] [cuneiform]; at the end of III. 26 we have the conclusion of this word written [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform]; the termination is, therefore, *âya;* and it is obvious that [cuneiform] can have no other value than *yâ*. We are thus enabled to complete the declension of a theme in *i*, given in § 24, so far as the four principal cases are concerned. The genitive singular would be, according to this analogy, *nabiyâya.* Of the theme in *a*, I can only give the singular, nom. *as;* acc. *an;* gen. *aya;* dat. *abi;* and the accusative plural, which in the masculine is *as*, and in the neuter probably *a;* see § 27. The masculine form is met with XIII. 14, where we have before *shadumi*, and evidently as its object, [cuneiform] [cuneiform] [cuneiform] *yas*, "quos." I am not sure of the meaning of this verb, but am inclined to think it equivalent to the *jadiyâmi* of the Persian inscriptions. It is probable that the nominative plural was the same as the accusative in both masculine and neuter; *alus wathas* in VIII. 9 seems to be the nominative plural; and I take it to signify "the great gods." *Alus* seems interchanged with *nabis* in the plural, and I believe it is not used in the singular. It may possibly be of Hebrew origin. The declension of a masculine theme in *â* is, as far as I have ascertained it, sing. nom. *âs;* acc. *ân;* gen. *âyâ;* dative plural probably *âswa;* it is more likely that the nominative of the adjective "Biedian" ended in *âs*, after the analogy of Σάκας, Σκύθης, than that *as* should produce *âswa*.

§ 29. The occurrence of *Amânaya* in the genitive, as noticed in the beginning of the last §, implies a fact of more historical import than any which we have yet met with. The wars of Arrasnis were carried on in conjunction with the *Armenians*, and against the *Medes;* Bieda, the country of the inscriptions, was, then, in all probability, a part of Armenia; and we may fancy the existence of an alliance, such as formerly existed in Etruria, among the different Armenian princes;

Bieda being at this time the leading city. If it were only a city or small province in Armenia, the change to it from the province mentioned in the inscription I. (see § 19.) will not be very difficult to account for. The seat of government might be removed, without there being any change in the dynasty.

§ 30. I have now stated the most important points connected with the Van inscriptions, that I have as yet ascertained, or that I consider to rest on highly probable grounds. From my possessing but a slight knowledge of Sanskrit, and from my having access to a very small quantity of the important matter contained in Botta's inscriptions, I have been able to make much less progress than I might otherwise have done. I flatter myself, however, that those who read this paper will admit that I have made a beginning, and gone a considerable way, in the decipherment and interpretation of a set of inscriptions, which, however slight may be their value in a historical point of view, are invaluable to the philologer, as being beyond all comparison the oldest specimens of the Asiatic branch of the Indo-Germanic family;—nay, for aught that we know to the contrary, they are more ancient than any Greek which has come down to us.

ADDITIONAL MEMOIR.

4th March, 1848.

§ 31. The present Paper is intended as supplementary to that which was read on the 4th December, 1847. It contains new results, chiefly derived from a careful examination of the passages in the inscriptions in which numerals occur. I will begin with explaining the numeral system used by the different people who employed cuneatic characters. This I am enabled to do in a somewhat more perfect manner than I did in my Paper which was read at the Royal Irish Academy, on the 11th January, 1847; where, however, the nature of the system is clearly exhibited.

The primitive system of numerals seems to have employed two characters only; a vertical wedge 𒁹, which might be of any length and which expressed *one;* and a hook or angle 𒌋, the primitive form of which I believe to have been a horizontal wedge with its point to the left, and for which an oblique wedge sloping downwards to the right was also used. This expressed *ten.* The nine multiples of *one* and *ten* were expressed by repeating these elements as in the Roman and Hieroglyphic systems; and when tens and units had to be combined, the latter were placed to the right of the former. By this means the first ninety-nine numerals were expressed.

At Babylon, so far as I can judge from the documents which have reached me, it seems to have been a rule that no more than three wedges should be placed in a horizontal row. Thus *eight* was there expressed by eight wedges in rows of three, three, and two, and *nine* by rows of three in each. At Khorsabâd and at Van, however, *eight* is expressed by 𒐍 and seven by 𒐌, the long wedge to the left of the short ones denoting *five.* That this is the numeral value of this last character clearly appears from the facts that at Khorsabâd, where the years of the king's reign occur in succession, it is found after 𒐋 and before 𒐍, the inscription being nearly perfect between it and the last character; while between it and the first there are two long intervals, where the text is lost, in either of which a "sixth year" might have been mentioned; and again, at Van, 𒌋𒐌 occurs in XVII. B. 5, while in XVII. A. 4, containing the same text (see § 34) 𒌋𒐌

is found. *Nine* does not occur in any of the Van Inscriptions; but at Khorsabâd it is found in the form Y𒑆. I at one time supposed that <⊱, which occurs frequently as a numeral in both copies of XVII, had this value; but on further examination I find that it must have denoted *one half.* It is always placed after the noun to which it refers, in which it differs from other numerals. It occurs three times with no noun after it, which clearly establishes this point. (See § 35.) The long vertical wedge to the left of one or more hooks denoted *fifty*, and is, I believe, constantly used as such in expressing *seventy, eighty,* or *ninety;* for *sixty* we have both Y< and <<<. In the table of the characters, arranged according to their elements, all the units and tens used at Van will be found with their values.

§ 32. One or more hundreds were expressed by Y- preceded by a numeral. This is used as a *word,* and never like the Roman C as a *numeral.* It is probable that the word signifying "hundred" commenced with this character. Thousands were expressed in like manner by <Y- preceded by a numeral. The ideographic connection of this character with the preceding is obvious; but this is no objection to the supposition that both denoted the words expressing hundred and thousand, phonetically as well as ideographically. The latter character certainly denoted *si* or *shi,* (§ 22) and I presume that this was the initial syllable of the word signifying "thousand," if not the entire word. Myriads were expressed either by <Y- preceded by one or more tens, or by YY ->-Y- ⊨ *ânvi,* preceded by one or more units. Considering the liability of *l* and *n,* as well as of the labials, to be interchanged, I cannot but compare this word with אלף[1]. In the Amharic language this word signifies "a myriad," and I believe ሺ signifies a "thousand;"—a very curious coincidence. The Amharic language being derived from the Himyaritic, and the characters of the latter being found on cylinders similar to those at Babylon, (as at Vienna, Coll. Orient., Cyl. No. 144,) while cuneatic inscriptions have been found in Arabia, the connection between the ancestors of the Ethiopians and those who used the cuneatic character was probably

[1] This passage is erroneous. The word is *âvibi,* or the like; the second character being ->-Y<. See note to § 37. (April, 1848.)

not so remote as might at first be supposed. The following examples of large numbers taken from V. 8 and VI. 30 will sufficiently illustrate the system:—

36,830

32,538

§ 33. Ordinal numbers are not found at Van; or if they be, they are written phonetically. At Khorsabâd, also, they are not used, the cardinals being substituted for them. Thus "in my 5th year" is expressed by the preposition *in*, "in," (as in the Third Persepolitan and Babylonian Inscriptions), the ideograph or abbreviation for "year," , and the affix *ya*, "my," (as at Persepolis and Babylon). In the Babylonian contracts, however, we have ordinal numbers, which are formed from the cardinals by adding a character like , but sloping downwards to the right. For this we have L. 157 in the great East India Company's Inscription; where in II. 57 occurs 105. 8. 157. 105. 19. 157; which I translate "the 8th half-month and the 11th half-month." I make L. 105 "a half-month" rather than "a month," because one of the contracts published by Grotefend is dated in the 17th (=L. 105) of the 40th year of Artaxerxes. From the small numbers with which it is generally joined, it cannot mean "a day." I suspect that this addition, forming ordinal numbers, was read *satta;* because at the end of II. 56 of the great inscription we have characters which must be thus read, preceded by , the entire probably signifying "thirtieth." Perhaps, however, *satta* includes the plural termination, and allusion is made not to the 30th year of the king, but to the last years of the cycle of thirty years, which the Babylonians certainly used. The plural feminine terminated in *atta*.

§ 34. The principal inscriptions in which large numbers of numerals occur are XVII, XII and those of the Khorkhor series. I will consider them in the order in which I have named them. The same matter is written twice over in XVII. I distinguish the first 31 lines as A, and the remaining 63 as B. A blank space intervenes between them, as does another between the first 25 and the last 6 of A. This repetition of the same text occurs also in XVIII and XXX; while the three inscriptions XIII, XIV and XV, all lying near together, appear to have contained the same matter. I conceive

that the object of these repetitions was to guard against the text being rendered wholly illegible in consequence of accidents to which the stone is liable. It was anticipated that the different copies would not be injured in the same places; and that by a comparison of them the true reading might be discovered. And this is in fact what has happened. The lowermost copy is very much injured, but enough remains of it, even in its worst part, to assist in reading the upper inscription, the deficiencies in which it enables us frequently to restore. There are still, however, many blanks and illegible passages which are much to be regretted. The greater part of this text consists of a number of short sentences which must express offerings made to different deities. Each contains a noun, the name or description of a deity, generally abbreviated, but sometimes with the termination of the case which I have called the genitive; after which in A, but before which in B, is an offering, containing at least one, and often a second, numeral. With the exception of this transposition, which occurs in B in all the offerings after the first, and of the insertion of supernumerary vowels or the use of equivalent characters, the two texts are identical.

§ 35. I am not going to discuss this inscription except very briefly, and in a philological point of view. I must, however, express my conviction that a more important document to the student of ethnography is scarcely to be found, and my hope that efforts will be made to obtain as correct a copy of it as is possible. That of Schulz contains many errors, as a comparison of its two parts proves; and in respect to words which occur but once, as is the case with many of those in this inscription, conjectural emendations are not to be hazarded. The offerings made are of two kinds, which are expressed by the abbreviations and . They could scarcely have been any thing but animals, as the inscriptions to be hereafter adduced will show; and it is natural to attribute to them the meanings *oxen* and *sheep;* the former character signifying "oxen" as being joined with the smallest number. I presume that the words denoted the species generally, without reference to any distinction of age or sex. My reasons for so thinking, as well as my mode of reading the words for which these characters stand, must be postponed till I examine the inscription XII. The first offering is to the three deities whom I have called Nabis, Veismâs, and Parnas (§ 24), and consists of six sheep. After the three names a title occurs "the gods ." The character used by abbreviation for an adjective

is probably the more ancient form of [cuneiform] and the meaning may be "national." After this 17 oxen and 34 sheep are offered to Nabis with an epithet, which I cannot venture to read. It is probably a translation of the Assyrian title [cuneiform] "the Guardian." This is by far the largest offering of all. Then we have 6 oxen and 12 sheep to *Veismás*, and then again 4 oxen and 8 sheep to [cuneiform]. This abbreviation may possibly denote the goddess *Anaïtis*, the Assyrian Venus, as the phonetic value of the initial character is א. Several deities are then mentioned who have 2 oxen and 4 sheep; others who have an ox and 2 sheep, and towards the end some have half an ox and a sheep, or half an ox only. The proportion of two sheep to an ox is in general maintained, but occasionally we have 2 oxen and 14 sheep, 4 oxen and 18 sheep; (the reading in both places is very distinct in both copies); and the last offering is of 17 sheep only. If all the deities mentioned were peculiar to the people whose kings made these offerings, the catalogue would be less interesting; but it is evident that we have for the most part foreign deities mentioned. Some of these are mentioned by name; but in general they are described by help of the country or city where they were worshipped. Where the name is mentioned, the determinative prefix [cuneiform] begins it. Thus we have [cuneiform] *Ubá*, in A. 15, who has an ox and two sheep; but where a deity is described by the city or country of his worshippers, the character for "god" is placed last, according to the rules of composition, and the name of the city or country with its proper prefix begins the word. Thus we have in A. 14, [cuneiform] *Sukinu-dáwa-nabiaya*, and in A. 17, [cuneiform] *Amána-dáwa-nabiaya;* each of which deities has the same offering as the one named before. The reading of these names requires but few explanations, most of the characters having already occurred. [cuneiform] is identical in form with a character which occurs at Persepolis and Khorsabád in the word signifying "entire;" rendering in E. 6, *durê-apê* of the Persian. It is written in that inscription with this character preceded by *ras* and followed by *ta*; while at Khorsabád it is preceded by *ra*, without an *s*, and followed by *ta* or *uta*. The value of this character must, therefore, have been *su*, giving for the word *rasuta;* and that this was its value at Van also is con-

firmed by the circumstances, that it has an inherent *u* at the end (cf. VI. 14 and 35), and that the word , an accusative of a noun signifying "wealth" or the like, would thus become *wasun*, which is Sanskrit all to the gender; and as to that, see Bopp, Gloss. San., p. 313, under *Vasundharâ*. I read *nabiaya;* for the word is written in A. 3 with a short vowel. The analogy of § 28 does not apply to this word.

§ 36. The word *dâwa*, interposed between the name of the country or town, and the word signifying "god," can mean nothing so naturally as "people." "The god of the people of Sukinu," (which was perhaps Susa, written *Sûku* in the Third Persepolitan of Nakhsh-i-Rustam) and "the god of the people of Armenia" were the deities here mentioned. This word is clearly the Greek *λᾶϜο*; and on ascertaining its meaning, it occurred to me that the word following *ni*, "king" in the royal title (see § 19) was not a locative, as I originally supposed, but the genitive of a compound noun, *Biâi-dâwa'a* for *-aya*, the semi-vowel being dropped in this as in many other instances. I observe that, whatever other characters are dropped, the final of this word is never omitted. I take *mâ-dâ* (a contraction for *mâdâya*, which is the form that *always* occurs at Persepolis and Khorsabâd, and *sometimes* at Van,) to be a similar compound. The semi-vowels *y* and *w*, which seem both of them to have been, like the Greek Ϝ, generally dropped in the pronunciation, were very liable to be interchanged; and the former may have prevailed in Media as the latter did in the country of the inscriptions. There is, I think, every reason to believe that the Median language was very similar to that used at Van; whence it follows that the Second Persepolitan inscriptions are in the language of some other people. Adopting the analogy of the words *Media* and *Median*, I will use the noun *Biedia* and the adjective *Biedian*, as the most proper to express the country of the inscriptions. I will only add, that the dative plural of this adjective in §§ 21, 25, ought, I now think, to be read *Biaidâ'aswa;* though it is possible that a contraction may have taken place.

Some other forms of describing deities are in use. Thus we have "the gods" in the plural followed by the name of a town in the genitive, and some other combinations that I cannot at present attempt to explain. Indeed, the very incorrect and imperfect state of the inscription must prove a complete bar to its being explained satisfactorily.

§ 37. I now come to the inscription XII, and will resume the

passage in line 7 which I have already translated in part in § 27. It immediately follows the sentence "Viriduris says." I am now satisfied that the value of ►►Y► when it had an inherent *i* after it, as mentioned in § 25, was *vi* (including probably *bi* and *mi*[1]). In V. 55 we have the word ⋞ ⊨YYY⊨ ►YY⊲ ⊨⊣YY ►►Y► ⋟YY► which is evidently the accusative of the name of the country which is called *Uwârazhmish* in the Persian, and *Waraswis* in the (so-called) Median at Nakhsh-i-Rustam. I read the word given above *Warasvin*, which exactly agrees with the last. This value also well suits the word ⊨⊣YY ►►Y► ⋟YY► *svina*, a theme signifying "a child" or "son," as appears from its following in the plural two other words which certainly signify "men and women." The two or the three words form a very common group. The first two are ⊲►►Y► ⋞ (Y►►►) Y⊳ ⊨YY ⊰Y (Y►►►). I cannot read either word completely; but the latter has its first character identical with, and the remainder phonetically equivalent to those of an Assyrian word which occurs at Khorsabâd between two, which are known to signify "men" and "sons" or "boys," while its initial character Y⊳ combines with the character for "son," forming a fourth word denoting "daughters" or "girls." This character is then an ideograph for "female;" but what phonetic value it had I am quite ignorant, nor can I account for an Assyrian word for "women" being used instead

[1] Since the above was written, it occurred to me that perhaps I confounded two distinct characters; and a close examination of the inscriptions has satisfied me that I have done so. The character which has the power of *vi*, *bi*, *mi*, or *pi*, is properly ►►Y<; it is so represented by Schulz in the majority of instances, though he has repeatedly confounded it with ►►Y►, which is only used in these inscriptions as a determinative prefix, or as an abbreviation of the word *nabi*, "god." In the Berlin copy of Mülhbach's inscription, the distinction is always marked. The name of the king there speaking is written with the former of these characters after *s*, *Arrasvis*; that of his father with the latter, and I suppose it should be read *Nabiriduris*; though it is possible that it was *Arriduris*, the ►►Y► having its Babylonian value *an*, which is here assimilated to the following *r*. It follows from this, that the reading *wanâmi* in § 25 is inadmissible. The word is *uviâmi*, or the like; the first consonant may be *m* or *p*. From the termination, I presume that it is an optative or potential. "May I ——" or "I would ——." The root is perhaps connected with the Sanskrit *vap*, and may signify "to offer." (April, 1848.)

of the native one in this particular connection. The name of the father of *Viriduris* must now be read *Arrasvis*. I find that *s* is only used at the beginning of a word or syllable[1]. Consequently the division of the first group in the sentence *g*, in § 22, should be before this character, not after it, as I imagined when I made it the termination of the accusative plural. Before I quit the subject I may as well remark, that I now consider *pu* a more probable value of than *ku*. This seems to be the Median value of the character; and I believe the identification of the name of Khuta, on which I chiefly relied, when I made it *ku*, cannot be maintained. The name of the second king of the series will thus be *Spuinas*.

§ 38. The sentence which I am about to consider begins with a verb which I have read *khâumi*, and translated "I possess." In this part of the inscriptions, where the terms of a treaty seem to be stated, all the verbs end in *umi*. I am pretty confident that this was a tense-ending, and that the proper translation is, "I shall possess" or "I am to possess." Then follows the Assyrian phrase "the three palaces," followed by which I read *Akhunum âtha mânu âtha âgunusâ*. I take the three principal words for the names of the palaces; perhaps, however, they are appellative nouns, expressing the different uses of the buildings, and *âtha* must be a copulative conjunction. I formerly gave this character the simple value *tha* or *dha*; but I find it when used as a conjunction written indifferently with and without an initial *A*; see XVII. 25. Besides, though *tha* might be an enclitic conjunction, it is scarcely an admissible form for one which precedes the noun connected by it. We have in the clause above-quoted another clear instance of a character representing a consonant with an inherent vowel both before and after it. In different passages where the same words occur we have alone, and with either or both of the inherent vowels *â* and *u*, written indifferently. It is, therefore, of the form *âCu;* and that its consonant is a guttural appears from a variety of considerations. In the first place, the name of *Thattagush* at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, in the Median *Sattagus* (as I read it, restoring a wedge which Westergaard must have overlooked, so as to

[1] In one place, indeed, (VI. 9,) it would seem as if this character were used as an abbreviation for the whole word *svina;* but only part of the characters remain, and I suspect that, *though not so marked*, the defaced part of the rock must have been large enough for the rest of the word.

have in place of ; which restoration makes the two first Babylonian and Median characters to correspond in both form and power,) is in Babylonian composed of the present character preceded by *Sat*, and followed by *s* or *sa*[1]. This gives directly the equivalence of this character to *agu*. Secondly, there is a word which occurs very frequently in the great East India Company's inscription in connexion with buildings; it is often joined with *kum* (קום) "front," and can signify nothing so naturally as "rear." It consists of the Lapidary equivalent of the present character (62) preceded by (4) א and followed by (252) ר. It is natural to read it אחור which accords with the above value. Thirdly, the two proper names occurring in the passage before us may be compared with אחמתא, or Ἀγβάτανα, a comparison of which shows that the original form was *akh* (or *ag*) *wata*. All these names have a common initial element *akhu* (or *agu*), the final vowel of which before a word beginning with a vowel, such as *ata*, would become *w* or *v*. This element I take to have been equivalent to the Greek ἐχε, and to have signified "a place for holding." Major Rawlinson has shown, I believe, that *Akhmatha* was translated "a treasury." If it be objected, that the *u* in the common verb *âgumi* was, as I have suggested in the beginning of this §, a formative of the future tense, and therefore not likely to be retained in composition, I would reply that very possibly the first part of the compound was only *âkh; vatha*, or something like it, being the word signifying "treasure," and *un*, as εὐνή, "a bed," being the second element of the names before us. These points must remain unsettled; but I think the value of the character which I have been considering may be regarded as certain[2]. I will add another instance of a cha-

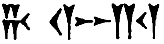
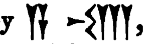
[1] M. Botta says that the final character in this name, which occurs in no other proper name that I have seen, is interchanged with . If so, it must be a *u*, which will suit the present word as well as *s*; for the final *sh* of the Persian may be omitted here as well as in *Babirush*. ו is also a good value for the affix of the 3rd sing., which this character represents. (May, 1848.)

[2] While this sheet was passing through the press, I received a new cuneatic *datum*, which appears at first sight inconsistent with what I have here advanced, but is in my judgment capable of being completely reconciled with it. As the inconsistency may occur to others, being of a very obvious nature; I think it best to state it myself, and to explain it as well as I can. The new *datum* is a line of one of the smaller Babylonian Inscriptions at Behistun, which M. Botta has published in the Journal Asiatique for May, 1847. This is evidently, as M. Botta has remarked, the commencement of the inscription marked *b* in the key plate. It contains two words, answering to *Iyam Gomâta* of the Persian inscription which corresponds to it. Now the last of these words begins with the character which I have here valued as *agu*. The five characters of which it consists are,

racter which has two inherent vowels. It is , which I find to be always used after *a* or *á*, or when such is implied: whereas

according to my values, *Agu.ma.â.ta.â.* Here then, it will be said, I have committed an error; for the initial character *must be* read *gu* or *go*, without a preceding *a*. I, nevertheless, persist in my assertion that the value of the character is *agu* in this place as well as in the word *Sa.at.agu.s'*. The explanation of the apparent inconsistency between this reading and that of the corresponding Persian name is this. When the value of a character terminated with a vowel, it was customary to repeat the vowel at the beginning of the following syllable. Thus, in the word last quoted, *Sat* is expressed by *Sa.at;* and in like manner, in the name of Ormazd, *mas* is expressed by *ma.as;* in that of Hystaspes, *tas* by *ta.as;* in that of Achæmenes, *man* by *ma.an;* and so in instances unnumbered. This mode of writing was extended to the case of two words, when intimately connected. Thus, the word, which, when it begins a sentence, or follows a word not ending in *a*, is written *stu* (or *sthu*,) is written *astu*, when preceded by a word which terminates in *a*. It occurs frequently in both forms, both in the Great Inscription at the India House and in Botta's Plates. Compare, for instance, VII. 45 of the Great Inscription with the 21st line of Rich's barrel. They are identical, save that the former, which follows L. 260, *du*, begins with L. 90, *s;* the latter, which follows L. 111, *ma* or *va*, begins with L. 222, *as*. Now, it is in strict conformity with this rule of Babylonian writing, that the proper name *Gumâtâ*, when preceded by a demonstrative pronoun terminating in *â*, should take the character *agu* as its initial, in place of *gu* which it would have in a different position; as, for example, after *anku*, "I am," as the name of Cyrus (*Kuras*) is found at Murgâb. I feel confident that the difference between , L. 113, and , L. 62, is not that the former is *ku* and the latter *gu;* but that the former is *ku* or *gu*, and the latter *aku* or *agu*. I believe that the best mode of transcribing Babylonian words is by using apostrophes for supernumerary vowels. Thus, I would transcribe the two before us in the following manner *â.na.â 'Gu.m'â.t.'â*. The three apostrophes mark the places of vowels, which might under other circumstances constitute syllables, but which do not do so in the present instance. I read the first word as a trisyllable, but not with confidence. The second character begins with *n*, and it seems to me that it terminates with some breathing, which would prevent its coalescing with a following vowel. The word "says," in which it also occurs, seems to me to be the Hebrew יאמרו; the plural used for the singular, as in the generality of instances where gods or kings are referred to by others. It should be observed that in the first person singular, which occurs both at Nakhsh-i-Rustam and in the great lapidary inscription, the final *u* is omitted, as it would be in the Hebrew אנאם. I am disposed to read these words *i.na.am.mu* and *a.naam*, although the second and third characters in the former are often replaced by a single one; which it would be more natural to read *nam* than *naam;* but which may, nevertheless, have had the latter value. On points of minute accuracy of this kind, as well as with respect to the value of a few characters which are yet unascertained, the proper names in Major Rawlinson's possession may be looked to, as likely to afford information. The values of the great majority of the characters are, however, in my judgment, *already settled beyond the reach of criticism;* and I confidently expect that the other Behistun names will be as consistent with these values as I have shown that of the Magian to be. (May, 1848.)

is used after other vowels or *s*. I value the former as *abi* or *ami*[1].

§ 39. To proceed with the sentence. We have next, as already quoted, "I am to possess 23 towns." This Assyrian ideographic group is followed by the adjective . The first character was valued in § 23 as *uwina;* and it afforded me great satisfaction to find that in M. 16, where a passage occurs very similar to this, is replaced by the same three characters as in § 23. This is here the first element of a compound adjective as *μονο*. The remainder of the word is *prikinas*. It contains the same root, I conceive, as *simplic-es*, which I take to be identical in meaning; and *inas* is the suffix and case-ending; as in *báw-ina*, which we met with in § 27, the only difference being in the gender. "Simple towns" were, I presume, such as were neither the capital nor royal residences. The next clause is *águmi*, "I am to have" "the palaces," as before, (or "the public buildings," literally, "the great houses,") . These I take for two locatives, one in the singular and the other in the plural. The latter is evidently "in the towns," the termination of the locative being added to the ideographic plural sign as that of the dative was to the plural, "the gods," in § 21. The termination is *uasvi*, it is probable, however, that the *u* belonged to the theme. The other word is to be read *Khârkhârubi*, from the theme *Khârkhâru;* and it would appear that, in this declension at least, the locative was not distinguished from the dative in the singular; in the plural the latter ended in *aswa*, and the former in *aswi*, the final vowels being at any rate different, and perhaps the consonants also, though slightly. The value of as *khâr* is quite certain. The first of the two characters is replaced by  in III. 19, as is the second in III. 44. In this latter manner it is written over the fortress attacked by the Assyrians on the wall XX at Khorsabâd; being added to the . The det. prefix of towns is prefixed to the word. In the text over the sculptures, these two characters are replaced by ; that is, we have *râya* or *rai* for *ru*, and in like manner at Van, in VII. 18 they are replaced by , which shows that the value of this character, which has an inherent *u*, must be *ru*. From the occurrence

[1] I find, however, that in the name *Warasmis*, at Khorsabâd, this character is used after that which denotes *ras*. The value *ami* is scarcely admissible here; and I am, therefore, disposed to retract this last observation. (May, 1848.)

of *Khârkhâru* in connexion with different countries, and from its being found in VII. 18 as the latter part of a compound noun, of which the first is the name of a country, it seems clear to me that it was an appellative noun, signifying "a capital or chief city." It may, however, have been used with a special application as a proper name. The name *Khorkhor*, which is still applied to the remains of the Biedian capital, is at any rate a curious coincidence[1]. The next words are uncertain. The wedges are misplaced, and not all expressed, as is very often the case in this inscription; but I believe the reading is *Mana'a.âgumi*, "of Armenia. I am to have." We have then the group already described, "the men, women, and children." So far the passage clearly relates to a cession or restoration of territory with its royal residence, towns, public buildings, and inhabitants. This is immediately followed by the first of four series of large numbers followed by different nouns, and generally preceded by verbs. I will now examine the four passages and endeavour to ascertain what the objects numbered were.

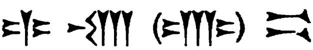
§ 40. The first series contains six sets of numbered objects, as does the last; while the intermediate two contain five only. Now it struck me as remarkable, that of the object peculiar to the first and last, the number specified was the same in both instances. It occurred to me, that perhaps the last set which appeared to contain the largest numbers was the sum of the other three. On examination I found that this was the case. The numbers are, indeed, ill expressed, the text being often defective, and the wedges being very badly copied. Still I was able to make out the following numbers; of *k*, 8135+3500+1100=12,735; of *l*, 25,000+(10m. 5[m] i. e.) 15,000+6500=46,600; either in the total should be , or the opposite correction should be made in the third number. Of *m* there are 6000+4000+2000=12,000. Of *n* there are 2500 in the first series and in the sum. The remaining two objects are the same that we met with in XVII; but the words, there reduced to their initials, are here written at length. Of oxen there are [2]2,300+8[5]2[7]+2538=33,3[6]5; and of sheep [32]100+18,000+8000=58,100. I have placed between brackets those digits which it was necessary to restore, the wedges being wholly or partially defaced, or neglected in the copy. Enough remains to make it quite clear that the fourth series is the sum of the others; and this establishes the important fact

[1] In M. Botta's Paper in the Journal Asiatique for May last, which (though a year published) I have but just received, this is remarked as a possible coincidence; yet M. Botta seems to reject this reading of the word before us. He has, however, correctly taken the initial character of the Khorsabâd word for a determinative prefix. (May, 1848.)

that, whatever difference there may be in the words expressing the objects, or in the verbs connected with them, the nouns and verbs are equivalent in sense. The word expressing "sheep" is *rus* or *lus*. As the plural sign is often used after these characters, I take the *s* for a part of the theme. Oxen is **pákana*, which may be a compound word, the last element being the same as that of the royal patronymics. I am ignorant of the value of the first character; nor can I assign any equivalents in other languages to either of the terms[1]. The object which occurs once only must be "horses," or perhaps "mares." It is , which I would read *asváyá*. The first character seems identical with the Third Persepolitan , L. 214, which is *as* in *Wishtâspa*. The Khorsabâd form of this character is very similar to that at Van. The next is *bá*, *má* or *vá*: its equivalent is used as phonetic, not only in the names of Bactria and Babylon, where it is initial, but in the end of the word which concludes the line NR 8, *ava* or *ama*, signifying "besides." This word is well established, occurring frequently with the same meaning in the great inscription at the India House. The third character seems identical with *yá*[2]. It terminates another

[1] Since this was written, I happened to observe that the initial character in this word is almost identical in form with that which terminates the name corresponding to *Zharaka* in the Third Persepolitan inscription N. R. The preceding character has disappeared from that inscription; but I confidently restore it as , on the authority of one of the Khorsabâd inscriptions, where the name also occurs. This name I read *Zhâranga*; and, accordingly, I give the value *ka* or *ga* to the character before us. It is probable that *p* and *v* were expressed alike; and thus the word may be read *gavá-gana*, "the cow-kind," being a compound of two well-known elements, which occur in most of the Indo-Germanic languages, including our own. (April, 1848.)

[2] As there is another representative of the Lapidary 249, and another character, besides that, in the Van syllabary, having the value *yá*, I have no doubt now that the true value of is *rá*, which combination would otherwise have no representative. It is the Lapidary 95, of which seven variations are given in the table; it is also formed in several ways at Khorsabâd; and one of these is almost identical with that before us. In the Third Persepolitan it is written . That the value of these characters is *ra* is quite certain. The last occurs at Nakhsh-i-Rustam in the names Zha*ra*nga, and Ph*rat*; nor is it any objection that it is the penultimate character in the name of Cyrus; for the Median equivalent is cer-

word which seems an accusative plural, near the end of the form of benediction, (see § 24) and here takes a supernumerary *á* after it. The word is *dâyá;* it is preceded by *ki,* "and," and followed by *áwaya,* the genitive of the demonstrative pronoun, accompanied by a noun in the genitive. There is a difficulty in the terminations of the accusative plural, which I am unable to explain. In *svinan* from *svina,* "children," and *prikinas* from *prikin,* we have such forms as might be expected; but *nabiá* and *wasuá* as the plurals of *nabi* and *wasu,* seem strange; *yas* for *quos* is also hard to reconcile with *svinan;* unless, indeed, the latter was used as a collective noun, singular in form but with plural sense; and these new plurals *dâyá* and *asvâyá* are different from any of the rest. The verb which is joined to all these names in the last enumeration is , *párumi.* I thought of the Sanskrit *pâlayâmi,* which may signify "to keep (cattle);" but I am now satisfied that the root corresponds to the Greek φέρω, and that the meaning is, "I am to carry off or acquire." The same word is in all the enumerations applied to *k;* a new verb *'dâumi,* is generally placed before *l,* and its influence extends to *m;—párumi* in the first enumeration does not occur till after the horses are mentioned; but, as the verb is in one other instance clearly placed after the noun, (see l. 28) it is uncertain whether it may not be applied to horses here, as it certainly is in the fourth series. In the second series, *dâumi* is not found at all; and in the third, *párumi* is not used after it, so that it appears as if it were applied to every thing after *k.* Mistakes may have been committed by the sculptor; but it appears to me most probable that the two verbs might be used indiscriminately, although *dâumi* was more appropriate to *l* and *m* than to the rest. The meaning which it is most natural to attach to this verb would be "to give;" but this does not suit the context. Perhaps, however, it may mean, "I am to dispose of." The king might retain for his own use the *k,* but might dispose of some of the other objects among his officers and people. A carrying off of all and a partial distribution of all seems most natural; and this explains the almost indiscriminate use of the words. But, if this be

tainly to be read *Kuras;* the final character, to which I formerly gave the value *rus,* being of like form to that which at Khorsabâd represents *ras* in the well-marked name *Warasmis.* The word before us is thus *asbârâ;* which is the old Persian word for "horsemen." This would lead to the inference that some of the preceding nouns signified soldiers of different sorts. With respect to *dárá,* as I now read it, I can say nothing satisfactory. (April, 1848.)

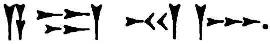
the meaning of *dâumi*, it may be connected with δαί-ω rather than with δίδωμι. We have seen that the semi-vowels *y* and *w* were generally dropped by this people.

§ 41. The three objects first enumerated are very difficult to explain properly. I think, however, that I have established many points respecting them. I believe that they were all of the human species; and in particular, I think it evident that *l* were female slaves. This object is expressed differently in the different series. In the first, it is ; and the second seems not to differ except in the omission of the plural sign. The third and fourth have the Assyrian word for "women," which I mentioned in § 37. This appears to me to leave no doubt as to the meaning of the preceding group, which was probably the Biedian word for "women." The first character has been mentioned in § 18 as following the word *Athuru*, but no suggestion was made as to its meaning. It is found, however, in *m* as an entire word, being sometimes, though not always, separated from the remainder of the group by the plural sign. It is then an abbreviation for a word; and the remainder of it is sometimes supplied as or , and sometimes as , which must, therefore, be equivalent; compare II. 13, 14 and V. 2, 39. In my former paper I suggested *thâ* as the value of ; but it seems interchanged with ; compare V. 3 and XLII. 17. The equivalence of these words is not quite certain, but I am strongly inclined to think that the value of the character before us was *shâ*, and that the part of the unknown word dropped in writing was *shâr*. The initial syllable is uncertain. The French investigators seem to have taken for granted that was identical with *du;* but I cannot admit this value as even a provisional one. I prefer expressing it by a star. I must observe, however, that this value does not affect the reading of the Biedian word for "women;" as in it must be either the first part of a compound noun, or, as I have suspected, a determinative prefix. The word is *wamiân*, or *wabiân;* the termination alone being uncertain. The following object is expressed by **shar*, with or without the plural sign, followed by *âgunusinaya*, which is evidently a genitive case. This, I think, constrains us to affix to the Assyrian word one of three meanings—*homines*, *homines* of a particular race, different from that of the Biedians, or *servos*, without reference to race but to condition. From comparing this

genitive with the names of the palaces in § 38, I have been led to think that it denoted the women's apartment, and that these slaves were eunuchs. This, however, I only offer as a conjecture[1]. The remaining word [cuneiform], which I cannot read, is most probably "male slaves." Perhaps [cuneiform] is equivalent to [cuneiform].

§ 42. I now proceed to the passages in the Khorkhor Inscriptions which contain numerals; and I first observe, that they are of a similar import to these, and contain enumerations of captured objects, many of which are the same as those which we have been considering. The first consists of "13,255 male slaves," (*k*), 11,100 **shâr sakaria*, [cuneiform], "23,260 women," the ideograph [cuneiform] (§ 37) being substituted for [cuneiform] and the rest of the word *wamiân* being as before; 52,665 **shâr uânaya* [cuneiform]; after which, as in a parenthesis, we have *âtha* [cuneiform] *shâs âgumi*, *âtha* [cuneiform] *sakaria âgumi*; and then an enumeration of horses, oxen, or sheep. The variations in the following forms are these: 1st, [cuneiform] is substituted for *uânaya*. The meaning of the first character here used is known to be "a man;" whence we may be sure that *uânaya* is the genitive case of a collective noun, signifying in the singular "men." In III. 46, the [cuneiform], the termination of the genitive singular, is written after the [cuneiform] at the end of the line, showing that it cannot belong to the following clause. This corroborates the suggestion which I made as to *svinan*, "children," being the accusative *singular;* and it leads to the further inference that *wamiân* is the complete word signifying "women," a collective in the accusative singular. Secondly, for this last word *wamiân*, the equivalent Assyrian word already mentioned is generally substituted; and 3rdly, the word *sakaria* is replaced by [cuneiform]. This cannot be precisely the same, but must be equivalent or nearly so. The parenthesis must, I think, mean "I am also to have ***shâs;* I am also to have ***sakaria*." The unknown character which I represent by two stars must represent a word signifying some object connected

[1] If the following word signify "horsemen," (see note in § 40,) it is more likely that what I have here enumerated were "foot soldiers (men of the camp?)." (April, 1848.)

with what went before, but which need not be enumerated, perhaps "children." In some of the inscriptions in this series a new object is introduced between the horses and the oxen; the first character is dubious. Schulz appears to have supposed it the same as begins the previous word "horses;" but I suspect that he was in error. I cannot, however, restore the true one, unless it be , which in one place is distinct enough; the other characters are . The numbers prefixed are very small; 62, 100 and at the most 174. If the unknown character be a determinative prefix, the name would be *âbbâ*, which might very well signify "an elephant." Compare Egypt. *âba*, and Lat. *ebur*. I have further to add, that in many of the inscriptions, the three objects first named in the list already given are omitted, the lists beginning with **shâr uânaya*. No doubt, this difference is connected with the difference of the nations yielding the tribute; but I am not prepared to explain it.

§ 43. A great deal depends on the meaning of . I cannot completely explain it; but I have made several observations respecting it, which may lead others to the truth, and which may at any rate dispel mistaken notions. The word is certainly Assyrian; and it is from the Assyrian Inscriptions that its value must be sought. Though I have read it **shâr*, it being so completed at Van, I think it likely that the root terminated in *sh;* for *ar* is a common Assyrian termination. This, however, is of but little moment. The Assyrian equivalent of this character with prefixed constitutes the name of the oldest Assyrian king that we know of, belonging to the last dynasty. This name would be *Ni*shar;* and I cannot identify it with any which is preserved in either sacred or profane history; yet, I believe the king who bore it to have been the father of Sennacherib. His son, whoever he was, recorded his Syrian conquests at the river Lycus, and built a palace at Mousul. His grandson (Esarchaddon, as I presume) built the most modern of the three palaces at Nimrud. Now the French and English discoverers of these monuments appear to have made up their minds that the palace at Khorsabâd was the work of this king. I grant that his name is found on some of the bricks of it; and he may have designed it and partially built it; but that he is identical with the king whose victories are recorded on its walls appears to me utterly impossible. The names, with the exception of the first syllable, are totally different; and moreover the names of *Ni*shar and of his son* are both mentioned in the Khorsabâd sculptures as former kings, distinct from the one who executed the sculp-

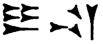
tures, and who, I have no doubt, was the *Chi-nilidan* of the canon, the son of *Assaradin*. In Plate xxxiv., l. 9, (Journal Asiatique,) we have the names of two towns called after these monarchs. They begin with the det. prefix of towns. This is followed by תא "a dwelling," and this by the names of the kings, each of which begins with the det. prefix . The name of *Niladan*, the monarch in whose reign the sculptures were executed, is in perfect preservation. That of the other king at the end of the line is injured after its first character. No doubt, however, rests on my mind as to its identity, though I am doubtful whether the two characters which follow , the last of which is completely illegible, belong to the word. In line 4 of the same Plate is a similar compound name of a town, containing the name of the son of this king. It is not well copied; but the same text appears in Plate xxviii. 6 very distinctly[1]. It struck me as a curious coincidence that these compound names of towns with the double determinative prefix correspond to the compound names of towns in the Egyptian papyri, where the royal name with its determinatives is included in that of the town, which again has its proper determinative.

Now it is quite impossible that this word, occurring in the name which a king took for himself, as "King of ——," should properly express men of any mean condition, such as slaves. If it be not a general appellation for "men," it must mean men of the race that was dominant at Nineveh under the last dynasty. I believe that this will be found to be the case; and this is quite consistent with its expressing foreigners or even slaves at Van, where another race had the ascendancy. On this subject I dare not venture to say more having seen so little of the monuments; but I feel a great degree of confidence as to the correctness of what I have stated[2].

[1] I find I have committed an error as to this last compound name. It is not "the dwelling of Sennacherib," (*Sankirib*, as I would read the name,) but the dwelling of some god, whose name I cannot yet read with any confidence. The vertical wedge which distinguishes names of men is not found in this name. (April, 1848.)

[2] Within the last few days I have received the Numbers of the Journal Asiatique for 1847, containing six papers of M. Botta on the Khorsabâd inscriptions. From these I have endeavoured to deduce something satisfactory as to the character which I have here considered. M. Botta says that he has found it interchanged with the character which he numbers 82; and this again has been interchanged with , which at Nakhsh-i-Rustam by itself denotes "man," and

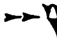
§ 44. I will conclude with an enumeration of the characters which I have ascertained to belong to the more recent Van system of wri-

which is also used as a determinative prefix before *wan*, which has the same meaning. Now, (though I must protest against a *general* admission of M. Botta's alleged equivalences of characters; they being not observed facts, but inferences from such, and being very often rashly drawn, and even palpably erroneous,) I believe that these characters are really used alike, and that the meanings are nearly the same. On comparing the two parts of XVII, I find that where was used in one, a character almost identical with M. Botta's No. 82 was used in the other. I have not produced it in the table at the end of this Paper, because I have confined that to characters which occur in the later inscriptions, from which, owing to its great size and intersecting wedges, it seems to have been rejected. The conclusion, then, at which I have arrived is, that is identical in *meaning* with , or at least so similar to it that it may often be used for it. It by no means follows, however, that it was *phonetically* equivalent to it. The value of the latter was *ba* or *wa*, and it is probably used as an abbreviation for the known word *wan;* but the other may be, and probably is, as distinct from this in sound as *ath* or *as* is from  *in'*, with which, however, it is interchanged in the great lapidary inscription, as well as at Khorsabâd and at Persepolis. I have as yet no clue to its phonetic value. M. Botta speaks very confidently of the identity of the two names of kings which I have mentioned above, which, however, in opposition to all other inquirers that I have heard of, he denies to be *names*. He says that both forms occur "in the same monument," (vol. X., p. 315). In none, however, of the Assyrian monuments that I have seen is there any such repetition of the king's name in connexion with the word "says," as we find in the Achæmenian and Van inscriptions. As in the great lapidary inscription, the king's name occurs at the beginning of each monument and not again, except it may be required in some statement of fact; and here the pronoun of the first person would more naturally be used. The name of Nebuchadnezzar occurs six times in the great inscription; but at least four of these belong to the first king of that name. We have in one place, "of me and of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, my father," and similar expressions occur elsewhere, where the name appears. Now, as in all the inscriptions from Khorsabâd that have been published in the Journal Asiatique, the king's name is only found in the initial formula, "The palace of ——;" and in the compound proper name above-mentioned, I own that I receive with great distrust this statement of the two forms being used as equivalent. If the shorter form be used *in this formula*, not merely on the bricks, nor on "the reverse of the plates," but indiscriminately with the larger one in the finished inscriptions, I must then admit the *phonetic* equivalence of the two. Even then, however, I should suppose the king mentioned here to be as distinct from the father of Sennacherib, as the son of Arrasvis in the Van inscriptions is from the father of Spuinas. The notion that the father of Sennacherib was king of Babylon, to say nothing of the other countries mentioned in the inscriptions, is so inconsistent with the established facts of history, that I cannot admit it for a moment. (May, 1848.)

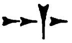
ting, without intersecting wedges. These I have arranged according to the system adopted by Westergaard in reference to the Second Persepolitan characters, placing them in the order of their constituent elements, as follows:—

It will thus be easy for a person to find any character in the table; as he has merely to observe that part of the character which is most to the left and to find in what order it stands among the above thirteen elements. After each character will be given its equivalent in the Second and Third Persepolitan lists if it have any, and a reference also to the number of its Lapidary equivalent. This will be followed by its value if known, and a reference to the section in which it is treated of.

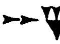
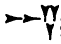
N.B. A. in the following list stands for Assyrian; B. for Babylonian cursive, generally Third Persepolitan, which differs from the Babylonian, properly so called, in a very slight degree; L. for Babylonian lapidary; and N. for numeral. It may be proper to state that this list is corrected to May, 1848.

1. (M. d. pr. of places; B. , L. 11. A. *ath* or *as;* also abbr. for *Athur*, god, country and city,) not used except in the compound character , and to fill up void spaces. 18.

2. (M. *na?*) *na.* 24.

3.  (M. and B. ; L. 287, A., d. pr. of gods; *an;* in Bab. and A. *nabu,* "a god") d. pr. of gods; *nabi,* "a god;" *an?* 20, 25, 37.

4. *vi, bi, mi.* 37 *n.*

5.  (A.; B. ; L. 77 + 173; in which compound, L. 77, the det. pr. of districts, is *also* used to express the initial syllable of the name, *as* or *ath;* just as L. 83, 88 or 183, the det. pr. of countries, is also used to express the first syllable of the name of Babylon, and as again is used with like double power in the names of Babylon and Bactria at Nakhsh-i-Rustam), in all, *Athur,* god, country and city[1]. 18.

[1] I was not aware till this was in type, that M. Longpérier had anticipated me in reading the name of Assyria in the beginning of the Khorsabâd inscriptions. I

6. [cuneiform] (A. L. 91, 92, 93,) in all det. pr. of towns; "a town." 13.

7. [cuneiform] A. *yá*. 28.

8. [cuneiform] (M. *pu, bu;* B. [cuneiform] L. 59, A. same,) *pu*. 37.

9. [cuneiform] *átha*, or perhaps *tha*. 23, 38.

10. [cuneiform] (A. *ta* or *t* ט? initial in "Tyre,") *tha*. 14, 23.

11. [cuneiform] probably same as No. 12, (M. [cuneiform] same?)

12. [cuneiform] (A. B. [cuneiform], L. 52, 53, *ra* or *la;* by abb. *ladá?*) *ra, la*. 26.

13. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform] *ri;* B. [cuneiform], L. 73. A. *ra*, vowel doubtful?) *ri, li*. 10.

14. [cuneiform] (B. [cuneiform]; L. 173, A.) in all *thur* or *sur*. 18.

15. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform] *u;* B. [cuneiform], L. 71, same) *u*. 25.

16. [cuneiform] (A. L. 15, נצר? "a protector or guardian,") same. 18.

17. [cuneiform] (L. 183?) *bá, má*. 15.

18. [cuneiform] ends in *u; bu, mu?*

19. [cuneiform] *ru*. 39.

20. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform] *nu* and *du?;* B. [cuneiform]; L. 28=274, A. *nu*,) *nu*. 11.

21. [cuneiform]

22. [cuneiform] (M. *ap, ab*, and by abb. *abbi;* B. L. 79. *ab, am*,) *ab*. 42.

23. [cuneiform]

24. [cuneiform] (M.? initial in Zharanga? A. would seem from M. Botta's statements to be *ta* or *tha*) ends in *á*, consonant dubious. 27, 41.

25. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform] *i;* B. [cuneiform], L. 12, A. *i, y*,) *i, ya*. 10.

26. [cuneiform] (A.; M. and B. [cuneiform] L. 203, 204,) in all *at*.

27. [cuneiform] (B. [cuneiform], L. 80, *par, bar?*)

have just seen his letter in the Journal Asiatique for December, 1847, in which he mentions having so read it in the Revue Archéologique for 1847, p. 504. It appears, too, from this letter that he noticed in the same paper the similar relations between the single and double hieroglyphic *leaves* and the single and double [cuneiform], which I mentioned in § 24. (May, 1848.)

28. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform]; B. [cuneiform], L. 249, A. in all *ya*) *yá.*

29. [cuneiform] (A. B. [cuneiform] or [cuneiform]; cf. Nos. 53 and 54, in which, as here, a double wedge is used in Assyria and at Van, where a single one was used in the cursive of Babylon and at Persepolis. L. 199, 200, *sa.* It occurs in the name of a province of Nebuchadnezzar, in the great inscription, IX. 9, which can scarcely be anything else than the שושן of Daniel. The other characters after the det. pr. are *K.sur.—n'*. For the assimilation of the *r* to the following *s*, see note to § 16. That the terminal vowel is *a* appears from the character being elsewhere followed by *as* and *at.*)

30. [cuneiform] (A. It resembles L. 160, which is *na.*)

31. [cuneiform] (B. L. 149, 150,) in all *tá.*

32. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform] *t;* det. pr., see note to § 26; B. A. L. 77, *ath* or *as;* det. pr. of provinces, less important than those which have L. 183) *as.* 26.

33. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform] *pa,* A. B. [cuneiform] L. 44, *pa;* also a det. pr. of countries or districts, nearly equivalent to the preceding) *pá, bá, vá.* 27, 40.

34. [cuneiform] (A.?) *wi.* 16.

35. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform] *nar?* the initial *n* is certain; B. [cuneiform] L. 229, 230, *na* or [cuneiform], L. 192, *ni?* It is uncertain which of these two characters the Assyrian one, which is identical in form with the older Van character, represents; in the only word where it occurs, which I have recognised in the Lapidary character, it represents L. 140, [cuneiform]. This has the value *na,* but it has no resemblance to the character before us and has another Assyrian representative,) *na, n;* the short vowel being liable to be dropped at the end of words. 15.

36. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform] *ar;* B.? L. 194, which has some appearance of corresponding to it, is only used as the first part, or by abb. the entire, of the root נאב or נאם, which has the two senses *omnis* and *dico.*)

37. [cuneiform] (M. [cuneiform] *u;* B. [cuneiform], L. 46, A. *u, w,*) *u, wa.* 11.

38. [cuneiform] (B. [cuneiform], L. 81, 82, 182; A. "a house," *tas?* or perhaps *tach,* giving *tacharam* as a transcription of [cuneiform] *tach-ram,* "a great house or palace," seems sometimes a det. pr.) only used in the group last quoted, and with the same meaning. 25.

39. (A. B. ?) 19.

40. (B. , L. 272, *ta*,) *ta*. 27.

41. M. *a?* B. , L. 135, 136, A. *a*, א, also by abb. "an abode or place,") *a*. 12.

42. (M. *un;* B. , L. 256, 257, 258, A. *un*, *wan*, "a man,") *wân*, "a man." 42.

43. (B. *ga*,) *ga* by abb. "an ox, oxen." 40.

44. (M. *p* or *f*,) see No. 104, which is, I believe, the correct form of the character.

45. (B. *ka* or *ga;* A.) *kâ?* 19.

46. (B. A. *su*,) *su*. 35.

47. (M. *s*, *sh*, B. , L. 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 184. A. *s*, *sh*,) *s*. 17, 37.

48. (B. , L. 225, 232, A. *bu*, *mu;* like other syllables which terminate in *u*, it loses its vowel before *i*, or before a character which expresses a syllable that begins with *i*,) *bi*, *mi*.

49. 41.

50. (M. *du*, B. L. 260, A. same) *du*. 11.

51. (A.) "mankind, men," d. pr. of classes of men. 41, 43.

52. (B. , L. 214, A. *as*,) *as*=No. 110. 40.

53. (A. B. , L. 269, *ith*, or *is*,) *ith*.

54. (A. B. , L. 268, *da;* M. *da*, *ta*,) *dâ*.

55. (A. B. , L. 94, 95, 96, 144, 145, 146, 147, *ra*,) *râ*. 40.

56. (M. *ba*, *pa*, B. , L. 111, A.) *ba*, *ma*, *wa*,) *'bâ*, *pâ*, *mâ*. 13, 14.

57. *dâ*. 13.

58. (A. B. , L. 39, *rab* or *ram*, "great,") same. 19.

59. (M. *as* B. , L. 45, *as*,) *as*. 21.

60. A. , L. 24=83, 88, 183, *ba*, "a country," det. pr. of countries,) *bâ;* det. pr. of countries. 13, 40.

61. (M. *sa?* but consonant certain; it is perhaps =No. 29, which see, representing L. 199, 200, *sa,*) *sa, s.* 17.

62. (B. , L. 275, *ba, va, ma,*) *va, wa.* 21. The Assyrian would appear to be the same as this; but its value is *ta* or *tha.* I can assign to it no Lapidary equivalent. The Median character for *tu* or *du,* which also resembles this, will be found as an equivalent to No. 91.

63. (B. , L. 151, *k* or *kh,*) *ka, ga.* 26.

64. A? 37.

65. (B. , L. 56, 57, A. ?) used by abb. for the name of a god. *Waisma?* 24.

66. (M. , cf. Nos. 33 and 59, *har;* L. 156, A. *khar,*) *khár.* 39.

67. (M. general prefix, *an;* B. , L. 1, A. det. pr. of men's names, *an,*) det. pr. of men, *uwina,* "one," N. i. 23, 31.

68. (B. , L. 31=40 and 143; in A. the wedges intersect, and the vertical one is made to slope downwards to the right; *k.* It is used as an addition of honour, to the names of deities, and is non-essential though sounded. Thus we have *Nabu* and *Nabuk, Atthur* and *Atthurk.* It is represented by כ or ח in Hebrew at the end of נסרך, and also of the divine names, used as the initial elements of royal names, אסרח נבוכ and סנח) *ki,* "a hundred." 24, 32.

69. (B. or , L. 50, an ideographic plural sign,) same. 20.

70. (L. 2, *bi,*) N. ii. 31.

71. N. iii. 31.

72. (M. *a,* B. , L. 4, A. *á,* and by abb. *adan,* "a son,") *á.* N. vii. 12, 31.

73. (M. *sa,* B. , A. *sa,* "who," or "of;" L. 6, only as N.) *sá.* N. iv. 18, 31.

74. N. lx. 31.

75. N. lxx. 31.

76. N. lxxx. 31.

77. (A. "a woman," det. pr. of women,) same. 37.

78. (B. , L. 61, 62, 63, A. *agu, akhu,*) *âgu, âku.* 38.

79. N. ii. 31.

80. (M. *sha,* A. B. , L. 5, *sha, zha,* initial in *Zharanga.* It seems to be used as a det. pr. in the name *Ninni,* Nineveh, in the title of Nebuchadnezzar,) *shâ.* 22.

81. N. v. 31.

82. N. vi. 31.

83. N. viii. 31.

84. N. vii. 31.

85. M. *ha,* B. or , L. 165, 167, *kha,*) *khâ.* 27.

86. N. iii. 31.

87. (M. *ku,* B. , L. 113, *ku,*) *ku.* 27. I think this value can scarcely be doubted; though I cannot interpret the word in § 27, which would thus be *kurun.* In the cursive writing of Babylon, the two vertical wedges intersect the four horizontal ones, which accounts for the Median form. See § 21 and note.

88. B. or , L. 163, *ru* or *lu.* The passage of two oblique wedges, like those to the right of the first figure, into two parallel vertical ones, does not seem more unlikely to have happened than their passage into a horizontal one and a vertical one meeting at right angles, as in the second figure, which we know to have actually happened. Nevertheless, I should not have assumed the identity of the Van character with the others, if there had not been proof, independent of this resemblance, that their values were the same.) *ru, lu,* "a sheep." 15, 40. I find that M. Botta gives as a variety in the mode of writing ; and is a very common one, which I have noticed myself. These are analogous changes.

89. A.

90. (M. , L. 251, 252, A. *r* or *ra.*) The consonant is no doubt *r* or *l.*

91. (M. *tu, du,* B. , L. 188, 189, *tu, du,*) *tu, du.* Here the Van character, with which A. agrees, is intermediate in form between the L. and the cursive character by which it is repeatedly

transcribed. I would here observe, once for all, that the Lapidary characters given as the equivalents of cursive ones are not assumed to be such from conjecture, but from comparison of the great inscription at the India House with cursive inscriptions of the same reign, which contain portions of the same text.

92.

93. (B. , L. 41, 42, 43, A. *u*, by abb. some unknown word,) *u*. 19, 23.

94. (M. *au*, B. , L. 21, A. *u*, "and,") *u* or *wi?* N. x. 31.

95. (M. *as?* B. , L. 222, *as*,) *as*.

96. (M. *si*, *shi*, B. , L. 32, A. *si*, *shi*,) *si*, "a thousand," 22, 32. The Babylonian character is not only used alone, but is an element in the following character and in , L. 289 =32+121, 122, or 123= "and."

97. (B. L. 290=32+73, *ar*,) *ar*. 14.

98. (A. , *mi*, *vi*,) *ami*, *abi*, *avi*, or without the *a?* 21, 38.

99. A. B. L. 190.) The value of this character, which is not found in any of the Achæmenian inscriptions hitherto published, is quite unknown to me; but it is entirely distinct from both and . The words quoted in § 22 are nouns, expressing some kind of property, perhaps gardens or fields. They may be abbreviated; and it is possible that the character before us is a det. prefix.

100. (B. A. *nir* or *nil*, "a king,") same. N. xx. 16, 31.

101. (M. *san*; B. L. 22, *san*. There was a god named *San* or *Sank*, [see No. 68] who may have been "the moon;" and from its revolution being about *thirty* days, it may have been thus denoted. The connection with "the teeth," (about *thirty* in number) also suggests itself; but the Hebrew transcription סנח is opposed to this; the word for "teeth" being written with ש.) N. xxx. 31.

102. . Now that the difficulty respecting , mentioned in § 25, has been removed by reducing it into two characters, (see note to § 37,) the present character is the most perplexing. I cannot help thinking that there are two characters of different origin which the copyists have confounded, even if the sculptors of the inscriptions

did not do so. The first I suppose to have been properly (M. *par*, B. or L. 104, 105, *par, bar, mar, war,*) *par*, &c., or before a syllable beginning with *r, p'*, &c. The other I take to be , equivalent to the A. character of the same form, which appears to be a contraction for , *thu*. I throw this out as a conjecture. 22.

103. (M. *bi, pi*, B. , L. 37, A. *bi*, &c.) *bi, vi*.

104. (resembles L. 105,) ends in *âr*, being=No. 24, with *r* added; consonant uncertain. 41.

105.	N. XL.	31.
106.	N. L.	31.
107.	N. LX.	31.
108.		
109.	"a child?"	42.
110.	same as No. 52, *as*.	40.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY MEETING

OF THE SOCIETY,

HELD ON THE 16TH OF MAY, 1846,

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF AUCKLAND, G.C.B.,

PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE HONORARY SECRETARY read the Annual Report of the Council, as follows:—

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to lay before the Meeting their report on the transactions of the past year, in the course of which their attention has been directed towards subjects of discovery and investigation of more than ordinary interest.

Before adverting to those topics, however, it will be proper according to usage, to mention the losses sustained, and accessions received, of Members in the various classes; the result of these changes may be stated as leaving the number of the Society's supporters nearly the same as it was on the last anniversary.

Of contributing Members, the number elected between May 1845, and May 1846, was nine,* while the number of deaths among the same

* *Elections, resident and non-resident:*—1. *Dr. G. Buist, LL.D.; 2. Fred. H. Brett, Esq; 3.*Major Proby T. Cautley; 4*.M. P. Edgeworth, Esq.; 5. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bt.; 6. *Edward Thomas, Esq.; 7. Monier Williams, Esq.; 8. James Heywood, Esq.; 9. The Earl of Ripon.

class of Members was seven*, and of retirements four†. Two non-contributing Members‡ have died in the same period, and one has been elected§.

Of the many valued Members whose loss during the past year the Society laments, some were eminently distinguished by services rendered to the country in offices of high honour and trust; and one was an Oriental scholar, ripe in knowledge and high in fame.

The recent events in the Punjab have shed an enduring lustre round the name of MAJOR BROADFOOT which cannot be enhanced by any eulogy that we can bestow; but the Society may well regret the loss of a colleague, from whose extensive acquaintance with the people and languages of India, and from whose opportunities of collecting important and interesting matter, in fields of research hitherto but little explored, they might have hoped to obtain rich accessions to their stores of valuable information; yet they feel a melancholy satisfaction that they have reckoned among their number, one who so nobly served his country by his counsels and his valour in life, and by his self-devotedness in death.

SIR HERBERT COMPTON, though not a learned Orientalist, was ever ready during the many years of his laborious and distinguished life in India, to take an active part in the support and administration of Societies formed for the pursuit of historical and antiquarian research, and the investigation of objects of general interest and use, in art or science,—and as it has fallen to the lot of few to fill, in succession, eminent situations at the bar, and on the bench, at each of the Indian Presidencies, so has the cause in which the Society labours received from none more frequent and varied aid than from Sir Herbert Compton. Shortly before his death, Sir Herbert discharged the duties of a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The same character of a warm friend of Oriental Literature, and zealous promoter of the associated efforts made for the diffusion of sound knowledge respecting the people of India, applies to SIR JEREMIAH BRYANT, who was for many years an active member of the Parent Society in Bengal, and who brought into the Royal Asiatic Society the same ardour which had characterized his previous connexion with the Society of Calcutta.

* *Deaths, resident and non-resident:*—1. Major George Broadfoot; 2. Sir Jeremiah Bryant; 3. Lieut.-Col. Henry Burney; 4. Sir James R. Carnac, Bt.; 5. Sir Herbert Compton; 6. Samuel Dyer, Esq., M.D.; 7. Henry Stone, Esq.

† *Retirements:*—1. Chas. Maccabe, Esq.; 2. The Rev. S. C. Malan; 3. John Melville, Esq.; 4. Maj.-Gen. S. R. Strover.

‡ *Deaths of non-Contributing Members:*—1. Baron Bulow; 2. Professor W. A. Von Schlegel.

§ *Election of non-Contributing Member:*—1. Professor F. Nève, of the University of Louvain.

In like manner, the Royal Asiatic Society, has to regret in the death of Sir James Carnac the loss of a valuable friend, who was ever ready to promote its views; and who, while holding the office of Chairman of the Court of Directors, evinced invariable readiness to attend to, and to forward its claims to public support.

Although Lieut.-Colonel Burney has not left in print any work of considerable extent, yet he was well known as an excellent scholar in several Oriental languages, particularly those of the Eastern Archipelago; where, on account of his peculiar qualification, he resided during the greater part of his Indian service. Connected with the celebrated literary family whose name he bore, he distinguished himself from the moment of his arrival in India by his application to study, and was early qualified to act as Hindustani interpreter to his regiment. Having been attached to the 20th, formerly known as the Marine Regiment of Native Infantry, the course of service carried him on various occasions to Prince of Wales's Island; and there he applied himself to the acquirement of Malay, and to the study of the character and political circumstances of the people of the adjacent islands of the Archipelago, and the peninsula of Malacca. The knowledge he thus attained recommended him to the notice of the Penang Government, and he was appointed Military Secretary, in which capacity he was of eminent service in various negotiations with the Malay and Siamese chiefs. The war with Ava rendering it necessary to enter into more immediate communication with the latter particularly, Lieut.-Col. Burney was appointed, in the beginning of 1825, Political Agent to the Siamese States; and, in that character, visited the Tenasserim coast, and conferred with the principal officers and dependent chiefs of the King of Siam; in the course of which conference, much new and interesting information was collected, which it was deemed advisable to lay before the Supreme Government. Lieut.-Colonel Burney was accordingly sent to Bengal, where his proceedings were approved of, and it was thought expedient to dispatch him as Envoy to Siam. The political results of his Mission it is not within the scope of this sketch to describe; they were considered entirely satisfactory by the chief authorities, both in England and in India; and we may be confident that the Envoy must have felt peculiar satisfaction from the success of his interposition with the Court of Siam, by which 1400 Burmans and Peguese, who had been carried off as slaves from the Tenasserim provinces, (which have now become subject to British India,) were restored to their country. It is however, more especially incumbent on us to advert to a full account of the mission to Siam, which was prepared for publication by the Envoy, and which it is highly desirable should see the light, as no later information has been obtained respecting that part of the Eastern world; and no account could be expected to be more authentic or comprehensive. The Council have resolved to make application in the proper quarter to ascertain

whether the valuable work referred to may not be presented to the world; and they will be glad to give whatever aid and encouragement to its publication it may be in their power to afford.

After his return from his mission to Siam, Lieut.-Col. Burney filled the situation of Deputy Commissioner, in the newly conquered provinces on the Tenasserim coast; and during his service of more than two years, from November 1827, to December 1829, made himself thoroughly acquainted with the people, and conversant with the language of Burmah. He was, in consequence, nominated at the end of 1829 the first permanent resident at the Court of Ava. He filled this office until the month of March, 1838, when ill health obliged him to return to Europe. During this period it devolved upon him to discuss with the Burmese Government many delicate and important points, in all which he won the confidence and esteem of that Government, as well as of his own, by a conscientious and firm, though conciliating advocacy, of the just pretensions of either. Nor was his attention restricted to his official duties; with his characteristic zeal, he instituted and promoted various inquiries into the history, geography, and antiquities, of the kingdom of Ava, by which our knowledge of that kingdom, and of the countries lying between it and Bengal, has been greatly improved; and he was an industrious contributor to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as the following list of his communications will prove:—

Vol. I. An Account of the Lacquered-ware of Ava*.
Memoir of Giuseppe d'Amato, an Italian priest long domiciled in Ava.
Account of Cholera, from Burmese authorities.
Vol. III. Notice of Fossil Bones in Ava.
Translation of a Burmese Inscription found at Gaya.
Vol. IV. Miscellaneous Papers, chiefly Statistical.
Account of Pugan, the ancient capital of Ava.
Vol. V. Description of Buddhist Images at Tagoung, with Extracts from Burman Chronicles.
Vol. VI. Account of the Wars between Ava and China.
Description of a New Site of Fossils in Ava.

He also compiled, with the aid of his Assistant, an Historical Review of the Political Relations between British India and Ava, which was printed in Calcutta, and first brought to notice the existence of voluminous records of Burmese history, one extending to thirty volumes, and another, revised and continued by order of the reigning prince in 1839. Copies of these were procured by him, as well as of many other useful and curious works. A Dictionary of Pali, with explanations in Sanskrit and Bengali, was also compiled by his desire, a copy of which is now deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Lieut.-Colonel Burney also presented to the Library of the East India Company a valuable collection of Burman MSS., chiefly doctrinal authorities of the Buddhist religion.

* Printed also in Vol. II. of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

In 1842, Colonel Burney returned to India, and died there.

The death of William Augustus Schlegel occurred about the period of our last anniversary, but the event was then too recent to admit of any obituary notice in our Proceedings. Since then several reviews of his distinguished merits have appeared, which make it superfluous to advert to them in the brief and imperfect manner which is consistent with the limits usual on such an occasion: at the same time, it will be unbecoming this Society to pass the demise of so eminent a member as Professor Schlegel without any observation, or to refrain from tendering that tribute to his memory as an Oriental scholar which it is peculiarly their province to offer.

Enjoying a widely-diffused reputation as a general scholar, and a profound critic, W. A. Schlegel took up the study of Sanskrit late in life, and no greater proof of the value of that study need be required than the ardour with which it was prosecuted by an individual to whom the treasures of classical literature had long been completely open; who was master of all the choicest wealth of European intellect; and who nevertheless, could find the sacred literature of the Hindus equally worthy of his extraordinary powers. He engaged in his new pursuit with characteristic energy, and very soon gave proofs of the success with which his exertions were rewarded, in his text and translation of the Bhagavad Gita, his text of the Hitópadesa, and the text and translation of such part of the Rámáyana as was completed in his life-time. His texts are remarkable for that correctness which was to be expected from his habits of careful and critical investigation; and his Latin translations are equally distinguished for their fidelity and elegance.

In his valuable periodical, the Indische Bibliothek, also occur several papers of great critical and literary interest; and to that work, as well as to the example of the Author, may be ascribed much of that impulse which has rendered the study of Sanskrit so extensively cultivated throughout Germany, and has added to the staff of all its principal Universities a Sanskrit Professor. It is not the least of the benefits conferred upon Sanskrit study by William Schlegel, that he brought forward his assistant and colleague, the eminent Sanskrit scholar by whom he has been succeeded in the University of Bonn.

The Council have the pleasure of announcing that the extraordinary discoveries of Major Rawlinson in a very interesting branch of Asiatic archæology are now in course of passing through the press, and will shortly be published.

These discoveries comprise an authentic and contemporaneous record of the events which followed the accession of Darius Hystaspes to the throne of Cyrus in the sixth century before the Christian era, and of the several rebellions which successively rose and were crushed in various provinces of the empire, where Darius, not being a descendant of

the ancient monarchs of Persia, was probably considered an usurper. The value of such a record will be evident from the consideration that we hitherto knew nothing more of the history of Persia at the epoch alluded to, than what we find in the Greek authors, the oldest of whom lived a century after the events narrated. It has also its value, as a test of the accuracy of those writers, whose accounts it confirms, and for whose truthfulness in material points it has thus become a guarantee.

The cuneiform character in which this record was engraved, has been an object of much curiosity with the learned, from the time when Tavernier gave the first imperfect engraving of the character nearly two centuries ago. Kircher, Chardin, and some others, printed a few specimens, and at the beginning of the last century Le Brun published whole inscriptions, which, though scarcely correct enough to furnish a clue for their decypherment, were much better than anything that preceded him, and may now be readily understood. The traveller Niebuhr, in the middle of the last century, was the first to give really good and accurate copies of these curious records, and it may be safely stated that it is to his publications we owe the knowledge we now possess of the language they contain. The first successful essay at reading these monuments was made by Professor Grotefend, in the year 1802. He pointed out correctly the words which signify *king* and *son*, and some others; identified the names of Darius, Xerxes, and Hystaspes; and subsequently made an alphabet, of which many letters were correctly given. The Professor admits his imperfect knowledge of the languages allied to the Zend and Sanskrit, and claims the character of a decypherer rather than of an interpreter; but it may be now fairly admitted, that though mistaken in many points, he made the first, and therefore the most difficult step of all. Nothing more was done in the work of discovery until the year 1823, when St. Martin, from the name of Hystaspes, correctly conjectured that the first two letters of that word were *v* and *i*. This was an improvement, which cannot be said of the other changes which he made in Grotefend's alphabet. In 1826, Professor Rask, in a pamphlet on the Zend language published in Copenhagen in 1826, and almost entirely reproduced in the Transactions of this Society, made the important discovery of the Sanskrit and Zend form of the genitive case plural in these inscriptions, which gave the correct power of the two nasals, the termination of the accusative case, and the true reading of the name of the Achæmenides.

Notwithstanding this addition, which it might have been expected would have enabled a good Sanskrit scholar to decypher the majority of the words of these inscriptions, nothing was done in the matter, except some ameliorations made in his own alphabet by Professor Grotefend, until 1836, when Burnouf in Paris, and Lassen in Bonn, both published treatises which showed a very great progress in the discovery. It appears from these publications, that both gentlemen had independently found in the inscription marked I, published by Niebuhr, the list of the

provinces of Persia; and that they were thus led to the phonetic values of many letters of the alphabet which had hitherto been unknown. It is not necessary to do more than allude to allegations of unfairness practised in obtaining a knowledge of those names; but we may observe that already, in the year 1832, Grotefend had published in the *Göttingen Anzeigen* an imperfect translation of this very inscription, in which he had recognized this list of provinces though he did not succeed in reading them correctly. The alphabet, though much improved by the accurate criticism which Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen applied to the investigation of these names, was still imperfect, and a dozen letters yet remained incorrectly appropriated. But the tangible and interesting results now obtained induced further examinations; Major Rawlinson, while resident in Persia, took the opportunity of copying, from the rocks themselves, some of the most interesting of these inscriptions; and, above all, the great inscription of Behistun, containing considerably more than all those together which had been hitherto transcribed; and, what is of greater interest, entirely new matter, instead of the constant repetition of the same formulas, which reduces the former, although their number is considerable, to three or four variations only. In the year 1838 the Major communicated his proceedings to this Society, and some correspondence took place; but political events prevented the completion of the work at that time.

In the year 1845, Professor Lassen published a far more complete essay upon the subject than his former work; and he gave in it a transcript in Roman letters, with an analysis of all the inscriptions accessible to him. In the interval between his two publications, the Professor had applied himself with much success to the investigation of the language of the ancient Persians. The alphabet he now published, with very few exceptions, was correct; and his interpretations, though still retaining many conjectural results, and some certainly erroneous, did upon the whole represent their real purport. He added to this treatise a valuable essay upon the ancient language of Persia, and gave a sketch of the grammar of the language of the inscriptions.

The labours of Major Rawlinson having been employed upon a much longer and more varied document than any within the reach of former investigators, have enabled him to enter more deeply into the study of the ancient languages of Persia than any other person has done; and although in some respects his superiority over his competitors may be due to this circumstance, it is not too much to say that he has proved himself fully worthy of his increased opportunities of research; and we trust that the publication of his treatise will shew that his readings and translation of the Cuneiform Inscriptions have been made with a precision which could not have been anticipated; a precision which is only surpassed where existing grammars and glossaries are ready to afford all necessary aid in the investigation of their meaning.

Major Rawlinson is now engaged in the study of the Median language; in the reading of which a very important step has been taken by Professor Westergaard, of Copenhagen; and he has made a copy of a considerable portion of the Behistun inscription in the third form of writing, which has been named the Babylonian, the publication of which will be of essential advantage to those who are now investigating that branch of the study, to which the recent discoveries at Nineveh have given an increased interest*.

The Council have also reason to expect that the final examination of the interesting inscriptions at Kapur di Giri, by the Director of the Society, will be completed in the course of a few months. The originals have been lithographed, and collated with the revised copy of the Girnár inscription made by Mr. Westergaard. Some differences of interpretation from that of the Girnár tablets by Mr. J. Prinsep are likely to occur; but the curious facts of the general conformity of the inscriptions, and their concurrence in specifying the names of Antiochus, and other Greek princes, will be put beyond question.

The Council advert with great satisfaction to the establishment of a third BRANCH SOCIETY, that of Ceylon, recently admitted into union. Such associations, if supported by local influence, and comprising all those persons who have access to new facts or records, should be the best sources for obtaining accurate information on the characters of tribes and people, the historical remains and traditions, the products of nature and art in the regions which they respectively occupy. If the administrative bodies of such Societies would assist in directing the inquiries and exciting the energies of their members by pointing out to them the subjects to which, according to their several tastes and pursuits, and with reference to the means within their reach, their attention might be most advantageously directed, a great deal of valuable matter might be easily got together, much that is transitory might be fixed and rendered available by description and record, and substantial data might be furnished by comparison and induction, by which the history, phenomena, and productions of one region might furnish illustration and cast light on those of other and more remote parts of the country, or of the world. These very general remarks may, it is hoped, suffice to point out what it is anxiously desired that local associations should do, and the Royal Asiatic Society will be ever ready to render as extensively available as possible the communications which they may receive from their Branch Societies.

With a view to induce a greater accession of persons residing abroad,

* In a letter received since the above paragraph was written, Major Rawlinson states that he has successfully studied the Babylonian character, and that he hopes to be able, ere long, to ascertain the general application of the Assyrian tablets.

especially in India, to aid in the pursuit of the objects for which we are associated, a regulation has lately been passed to relieve non-resident Members from the payment of an annual contribution. This measure, and the readiness with which the Society admits as Corresponding Members persons resident abroad who are considered likely to contribute valuable information, will, it may be hoped, attract the attention, and ensure the co-operation of many who now command favourable opportunities for adding to the general stock of knowledge respecting the infinitely various and interesting countries of Asia.

In connection with the foregoing subject the Council observe with peculiar satisfaction the establishment of a Medical Society at Hong Kong; and they are happy to state that communication has been opened with that learned body through the ever ready exertions of the noble President, and that interesting results may be anticipated from the intercourse between the two Societies.

In adverting to the financial state of the Society's affairs, the Council have again to announce a noble donation, now renewed for the fourth time, by their late Treasurer, of 100*l*., "to be appropriated in aid of the "funds in such way as may be deemed most conducive to the welfare "of the Society, or to the promotion of the objects for which it is "instituted." The Council feel assured that the Meeting will concur in the expression of the gratification which such splendid proofs of liberality afford of the deep interest which Mr. Alexander continues to feel in the success of the Society's labours.

The subject of the heavy pressure on the limited income of the Society occasioned by the necessity of paying rent for their accommodation out of their own funds, has, in the course of the past year, been again submitted for the consideration of the highest authorities, and the Council are not entirely without hope of some relief being eventually afforded. Meantime they feel it their duty to state that the expense which will be incurred in the publication of Major Rawlinson's invaluable papers will probably absorb the whole of the surplus fund which they have endeavoured to maintain at the end of each year: that surplus, though apparently larger than usual in the accounts of the present year, is so, only because the charges for printing the Journal included in the last year's estimate were not paid and brought to account till early in the current year. Though they deem it matter of most cordial congratulation that accessions so important to Asiatic investigation are accruing through the instrumentality of this Society, they must again urge on the general body of the Members the importance of their using all such influence as they may severally possess to further the great object of obtaining relief from the heavy charge of house-rent under which they are labouring, and the duty of endeavouring to add new Members to the Society, supported, as it is now, *entirely* by the contributions of the associated body.

Some increase in the expenditure for printing in this year has been occasioned by the addition of an Index to the eleven volumes of Transactions and Journal issued by the Society, which the Council trust will be found of sufficient utility to justify the additional expense incurred by its publication.

The Council have received from the Secretary of the Oriental Translation Committee the following report of the proceedings of the Committee since the last Annual Meeting of the Society.

The office of the Chairman of the Oriental Translation Fund Committee, vacant by the death of the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., has been accepted by the Earl of Clare.

The works printed for the Committee during the past year have been as follow:—

A further portion of M. Quatremère's translation of "Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte, écrite en Arabe par Taki-eddin-Ahmed Makrizi;"—an additional part of Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, translated from the Arabic by Baron Mac Guckin de Slane;—the 4th volume of the extensive work edited and translated by Professor G. Flügel, "Haji Khalfæ Lexicon Encyclopædicum et Bibliographicum;"—and the second portion of Baron Hammer Purgstall's translation, from the Turkish, of the Travels of Evliya Effendi, in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The posthumous work of the late Sir Gore Ouseley, comprising critical notices of several Persian authors, with a Memoir of Sir Gore by the Rev. James Reynolds, is nearly ready for delivery to the subscribers.

Other important works are in the course of preparation for the press.

The operations of the Text Society will be found to exhibit increased activity, and it is confidently hoped that the publications of this year will fully compensate the subscribers for the deficiency of the last.

The Dasa Kumára Charitra, and the second part of the Shahristáni, it is expected, will be completed in the course of this month, and the two Poems of Ahli of Shiraz, proposed by Mr. Bland since the last Report, are now nearly ready for the press.

The Committee of the Text Society are anxious to take this opportunity of publicly expressing their thanks for the munificent donation of J. B. Elliott, Esq., of Calcutta, who has contributed the sum of one hundred pounds towards the publication of the Khamsahs of Nizámi and of Jámi, when an editor for the latter work could be found. This has been undertaken by Professor Forbes Falconer, and Jámi's first poem, the Tuhfat ul Ahrár, is already in active preparation. In the mean time, the second part of Nizami's first poem is in a forward state, and will appear in the autumn.

A proposal from Professor Duncan Forbes to edit the celebrated Hadícah of Sènáí, from two very ancient and valuable manuscripts, has been also accepted.

Mr. Bland read the following report of the Auditors.

In pursuance of our appointment, as auditors of the Society's accounts for the year 1845, we have this day examined the books of the Society, comparing them with the vouchers of the receipts and disbursements; and we have the pleasure to report their correctness.

The abstract statement (No. 1,) furnished to us by the Treasurer, shows the receipt of the year 1845 to have been 946*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* to which must be added the sum of 377*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*, the balance in the Society's favour at the end of 1844, making a total of 1324*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* The total expenditure of the year, was 732*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, leaving a balance in the Society's favour, of 591*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*, at the end of the year 1845.

It will be perceived that this balance has exceeded the estimate, by 169*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* This difference arises from the circumstance of the bill for printing the Journal not having been presented for payment within the year.

It will also be perceived, that in the Estimate of Expenditure for the year 1846, (Statement, No. 2,) the large sum of 520*l.* appears under the head of Printing. This, however, includes not only the sum due for last year's printing, but also the estimated cost of lithographing the valuable inscriptions, &c., transmitted to the Society by Major Rawlinson, which increases considerably the expenditure for printing in the present year.

The Assets of the Society remain as heretofore, namely, 1942*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* in the three per cent Consols: and the value of the Library, Museum, Furniture, &c., in the Society's house.

A. Galloway, } *Auditors on the*
N. Bland, } *part of the Society.*

John Briggs, } *Auditor on the part of the Council.*

Grafton Street, May 8, 1846.

STATEMENT No. 1.

Abstract of Receipt and Expenditure, from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1845.

RECEIPT.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
132 Subscriptions of Resident Members, at 3*l.* 3*s.* each	415	16	0			
52 ditto, at 2*l.* 2*s.* each	109	4	0			
9 ditto, Non-resident Members, at 2*l.* 2*s.* each	18	18	0			
Arrears of Annual Subscriptions paid up	16	16	0			
				£560	14	0
12 Admission Fees, at 5*l.* 5*s.* each	63	0	0			
1 Composition of a Non-resident Member	21	0	0			
				84	0	0
One Year's Dividend on Consols (less Income Tax)	56	11	10			
Publications sold by Booksellers	10	13	4			
Annual Donation of East India Company	105	0	0			
Donation from James Alexander, Esq	100	0	0			
Annual Payment of Oriental Translation Fund, for 1844*	30	0	0			
				302	5	2
				£946	10	2
Balance in hand at the end of 1844				377	1	10
				£1324	1	0

[£1042*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* in 3 per Cent. Consols.]

EXPENDITURE.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
House-rent, one year, less Property Tax	213	16	4			
Rates and Taxes	39	8	10			
Fire Insurance	2	5	0			
				£255	10	2
Housekeeper's Wages	46	0	0			
Sundry charges, per Housekeeper	24	13	6			
Coals, 14*l.*; Plumber and Glazier, 5*l.* 8*s.*	19	8	0			
Whitesmith's Bill	1	18	0			
				91	19	6
Salaries of Assistant-Secretary, Clerk, Porter, and Armourer	231	0	0			
Collector's Poundage	30	0	0			
				261	0	0
J. W. Parker, for binding Journal, &c	18	17	1			
Bookbinding, 12*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; Stationery, &c., 8*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*	20	16	1			
Imprest to the Librarian for the purchase of Books	50	0	0			
Books and Periodicals	11	3	6			
Postage and Carriage	11	19	7			
Miscellanies, and Balance of Secretary's Account	11	7	5			
				124	3	8
				732	13	4
Balance in hand, 31 December, 1845†				591	7	8
				£1324	1	0

* The payment for 1845, although anticipated in the estimate of the year, was not received till 1846.
† This excess arises from the charge for printing not appearing in this year's account.

STATEMENT No. 2.

Estimated Receipt and Expenditure for 1846.

ESTIMATED RECEIPT.	£	s.	d.	ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions and Arrears	590	0	0	House-rent and Taxes, 255*l.*, and Insurance, 38*l.*	293	0	0
Admission Fees	63	0	0	House expenses	145	0	0
Compositions of Subscriptions	84	0	0	Salaries and Wages	231	0	0
Annual Donation from the East India Company	105	0	0	Collector's Poundage	30	0	0
Dividends on stock in 3 per cent. Consols	56	11	10	Printing Journal, and Lithography	520	0	0
Annual Payment from Oriental Translation				Books and Periodicals	10	0	0
Fund (1845—6.)	60	0	0	Stationery and sundry Printing	20	0	0
Sale of Publications	10	0	0	Bookbinding	10	0	0
Donation from James Alexander, Esq.	100	0	0	Postage and Carriage	15	0	0
				Miscellanies	12	0	0
	£1068	11	10				
Balance in hand, 31 December, 1845	591	7	8		£1286	0	0
				Estimated Balance at the end of 1846	373	19	6
	£1659	19	6		£1659	19	6

The REV. DR. HESSEY rose and said, that after hearing the Report which had just been read, there could be but one opinion upon its ability, and upon the value of the labours of which it was the exposition. The interest connected with the matters adverted to was so great, that he regretted much that the motion he was about to make had not been confided to abler hands than his. For his own part, though his acquaintance had been rather with the Greek and Roman, than with the Oriental Classics, he had always watched with interest, the developement of Sanskrit Literature, which threw so much light on the source of all Western civilization. He had heard with much interest, the little sketch given of Professor Schlegel, whose late application to, and successful progress in, Oriental Literature would he trusted serve for an example to many of the learned at our own Universities. The members of those venerable establishments were already highly interested in the discoveries of Major Rawlinson, who had succeeded in so ably combining in his investigations the result of much previous study on the part of Professor Lassen and other Orientalists in Germany, France, and England. Those discoveries, independently of their own interest, were valuable to the learned, as confirming the truth of the great historical writers of Greece, whom sciolists in Oriental Literature had for some time looked upon as mere imaginative or boastful triflers, who had perverted the little which they knew of Eastern history, in order to aggrandize the greatness of their own petty conquests. This reproach could be no more uttered; the term "Græcia mendax" must for ever be forgotten; and Herodotus must be restored to his rank as the father of history as well as the most candid and persevering of investigators, when Major Rawlinson's documents had displayed to the world, as they already had to this Society, the origin of Darius Hystaspes, his struggle with the Magian Usurper, his extent of empire, and his various exploits, in perfect accordance with the statements of the Greek historians. In the fact that an officer whose professional duties necessarily occupied so large a portion of his time, could so ably extend his researches into a field requiring a vast amount of preliminary knowledge, as well as close investigation, it was most gratifying to find proof of the good practical as well as theoretical education, now so universally bestowed on those who filled our military ranks. As our Eastern empire extended its relations, and peace was more permanently established, we might hope for much similar fruit from similar labours, bestowed upon a similar field, by the many other gentlemen who were annually sent out from this country. With regard to the financial condition of the Society, he was sorry that the Council were not able to speak more favourably; but if, at least, they were not receding from their position; and if, with all their burthens, they were still able to give to the public the result of such labours of learned men, as would not in all probability appear without the Society's aid, he thought that

so far, he had a right to congratulate the Meeting upon their financial condition. He would not press longer on their time, but move:—

"That the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors be received and adopted; and that the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Auditors for their attention to the interests of the Society, and the efficient discharge of the duties of their office."

Seconded by Major Chase, and carried unanimously.

General Galloway, one of the Auditors, rose to return thanks for the motion which had been passed. He begged to disclaim any large amount of gratitude for the duties which he and his colleagues had performed, as every thing had been so carefully prepared by their excellent and indefatigable Secretary, that they had nothing to do but to approve. With regard to their financial condition, he would take the opportunity of adverting to the enormous proportion which the expense of house-rent bore to the funds of the Society; it had been thought that the Chairman of the Court of Directors might successfully urge upon the Government the expediency of affording accommodation for the Society in one of the Public Buildings; but the Court of Directors was so connected with India, that he feared the Chairman of that body might not be found to be the best organ of solicitation. He was rather of opinion that the Noble President might with a better chance of success communicate with the Government on such a matter. He did not know how far this might be practicable; but he knew there would be much greater pleasure in performing the duties of Auditor, if the Society could be relieved from so heavy a burden as the rent paid for this house. Once more he begged to return thanks for the vote now passed.

General Galloway again rose to move a vote of thanks to the Noble President. He ought to apologize for accepting this duty, to which he felt he was unable to do justice. The task, however, was rendered easier by the conviction that any feelings of respect and gratitude to which he might give expression, would be more than anticipated by every Member of their body. All were well aware how much they owed to the Earl of Auckland, not only as President of the Society, but for his unwearied promotion of every object which the Society was constituted to advance; and that too, not only since his return to this country, but in his high station at the head of the Government of India. He had not had the honour of serving under his Lordship, as many of his friends had; but he had an ample opportunity of knowing the great exertions which His Lordship had made, not only in fostering the interests of science and literature, but in developing the resources, and in promoting the welfare of the people of India. It was unnecessary for him to eulogize the administration of his Lordship; all who were

connected with India, knew that his departure was lamented by those whom he governed, as it was regretted by those whom he served. It was delightful to see such a man, on his return from his lofty station, still continue the exercise of those qualities which embellished that station, and which now contributed to raise in general estimation this most valuable Society, over which he so ably presided.

GENERAL GALLOWAY then moved:—"That the thanks of the Society be tendered to the Right Hon. the Earl of Auckland, for his zealous and unceasing attention to the affairs and interests of the Society."

COLONEL SYKES seconded the motion. He said the Fellows of the Society were fully aware of the attention which his Lordship had given to the interests and objects of the Society; and he trusted his Lordship might long continue to afford that attention. The Mover of the vote had adverted to Lord Auckland's efforts to advance the interests of science in India, and to this he could give the most unqualified corroboration. It had been his good fortune in the course of his official labours to read his able Minutes in Council, as Governor-General of India; minutes which had instructed and surprised him, showing as they did, the most extraordinary attention to multifarious details in subjects connected with the development of the resources of India, and at the same time, they excited surprise that such minute attention was compatible with the momentous political and legislative duties which his office imposed upon him. This laborious attention to practical objects was a sufficient assurance that the Society could not fail to benefit by his Lordship's connection with the Society; and for the past, the Society must feel that his Lordship was well entitled to every expression of their gratitude.

The motion was put to the vote by SIR EDWARD RYAN, and carried unanimously.

The Right Hon. the PRESIDENT rose to acknowledge the thanks which had been voted to him, and expressed his satisfaction that he had, in the opinion of those present, been able in some degree by his zeal and by his interest in all that regards the history or welfare of India, to supply his deficiences in those qualifications of Oriental learning and acquirement which might fairly be required from the President of the Asiatic Society.

He remarked that the Society had a two-fold object, the first was that of promoting researches into the history, the languages, and the antiquities of the East, the second, that of collecting information upon its present condition, its industry, and its commerce. He trusted it would appear that the Council had not during the past year been idle in either of these branches.

In the first branch, he would place at the head of those who had

given them aid, the name of Professor Wilson, whose absence on the present occasion they had to lament; and whose profound learning, always ready to be exhibited when required, as well as his good-will towards the Society, demanded their utmost gratitude. Amongst the many objects of curiosity and interest, which in the course of the last year, had been brought to the notice of the Society, he would particularly notice the two ancient inscriptions, impressions or copies of which had been presented to the Society, from Kapur di Giri to the north-east of Peshawur, by Mr. Masson, and from Behistun in Persia, by Major Rawlinson. Both of these inscriptions were of value, one of them as affording assistance in reading the legends of the Bactrian coins, and in the inscriptions in the contents of the Topes opened in the north-west boundary of India, whilst the other throws light upon the yet remaining obscurities of the Cuneiform Alphabet, and illustrates a highly interesting period of ancient history. Professor Wilson was engaged in the investigation of the philological and antiquarian value of the Kapur di Giri inscription, and his Lordship trusted that its early publication in the Society's Journal, with the Professor's notes and translation, would render it available to the public. For this inscription the Society was not only indebted to the courage, perseverance, and kindness of Mr. Masson, but much also to the extraordinary ingenuity and industry with which its characters had been brought to light from an obscure and soiled impression, and prepared for lithography, by their excellent Assistant-Secretary, Mr. Norris. The result also of Major Rawlinson's yet more valuable researches would shortly be published, and he congratulated the Society upon the revival of their correspondence with that officer, with whose enterprise and ability his Lordship was well acquainted, from his own personal communication with him in the course of his distinguished career; and whose further communications promised to be of inestimable value to the Society. The Council had been for some time apprehensive that a portion of his valuable communication had been lost; and he was gratified to have to announce to the Meeting, that within these few days, the missing portion had been recovered from the embassy at Constantinople, through the kind intervention of Lord Aberdeen. As a proof of the interest which these investigations excited, he would now show them an elaborate, though short paper, on the Median Cuneiform Inscription, received that morning from a learned Clergyman in a remote part of Ireland.

In the second and more modern and practical branch of the objects of the Society, they had interesting papers upon the mineral productions of Southern India from Lieut. Newbold, and were also greatly indebted to the co-operation of Dr. Royle, who had communicated a valuable paper on the cultivation of cotton in India. The experiments on this subject, so laudably persevered in against many circumstances of discouragement, were now assuming, under the auspices of the Court of Directors, par-

ticularly in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, the most promising aspect. The cultivation of cotton was extended, the adaptation of particular seeds to various soils and climates was better understood, the preparation of the cotton was improved by new machinery, and they had the best evidence and the best promise of success in the circumstance that, particularly at Bombay, private merchants were beginning to apply their intelligence and their capital to these improvements. It was the same with tea in Assam, which had so advanced, that the Government had been enabled to give over their experimental farms to individual enterprise.

It was not in the habit or the province of the Society to allude to political transactions; but he might be allowed to say that those recent events which had added new glory to the military history of India, and promised to confirm its power and its security, would, amongst its less important results, have that of opening new fields of research and investigation to the Society. A valuable paper on the religious and civil institutions of the Sikhs was printed in the Society's Journal, copies of which were on the table. They had received another paper on the geography of that country, from Sir Claude Wade, and had been promised more. The receipt of information from China had been less extensive than they had anticipated; but the novelty of the position of the functionaries employed in that country, and their many occupations in so new a ground would account for this. With the assistance of Sir George Staunton, the Council had prepared a set of queries, which had been transmitted to the Governor of Hong Kong, for communication to other officers in the ports of China opened to British commerce; and he trusted that replies to some of them would be received. They had already got an interesting communication from Mr. Lay, and he hoped that more would follow. His Lordship then adverted to the formation of a Medical Society at Hong Kong, with which the Council were in correspondence, and which might be expected to afford valuable communications.

The domestic state of the Society's affairs was only less satisfactory, because with greater means they felt they might afford greater aid to the objects that all were aiming at; but they had sometimes the satisfaction of forwarding by their influence what they were unable to help with their purse; and he thought he might under this head congratulate the Society on the appearance of the first number of Dr. Falconer's beautiful work on the Sevalik Fossils. He also heard that Dr. Griffith's Botanical Notices were in the press in Calcutta, and would shortly appear before the public. With regard to the heavy expense of house-rent, and to the suggestion made by the gentleman who had done him the honour of moving a vote of thanks to him, he had some months ago anticipated that suggestion by an application to the First Commissioner of the Board of Woods and Forests for the appropriation of a public building to the objects of the Society; and if at any time he should see any hope of success from a similar application, he would readily renew it. The present income of the Society is equal, though but barely equal, to its

present expenditure, and he need not point out to the Meeting to what extent the Council, with increased funds at its disposal, might take measures for the improvement of the Library of the Society, the display of its collections, the extension of its means of inquiry, and the increase and improvement of its publications.

In conclusion, his Lordship repeated his thanks for the honour done him, and requested the continued assistance and support of the Members of the Society.

H. S. GRÆME, Esq., stated that it was his pleasing duty to move a vote of thanks which he was sure would be responded to with the most cordial feelings. The respect entertained by the Society for their learned Director had regard, not only to the distinguished position which he held as the literary head of their body, but to that profound knowledge of a most ancient and difficult language, which had raised him, in the opinion of all competent judges, to rank as the first Sanskrit scholar in the world, and to his varied acquirements in general knowledge and science. He would not pretend to dilate on the stores of information which that gentleman brought to the enrichment of their Journal, and to the illustration of the monuments of literature and antiquity to which their attention had been of late so particularly directed; they were too well known and too universally recognized to require eulogy from him. He would only call on the Meeting to acknowledge Professor Wilson's important services to the Society, and he would couple that acknowledgment with the thanks of the Meeting for the attention uniformly given by the Vice-Presidents and the Members of the Council to the transaction of the business which came before them, and to the general interests of the Society. Mr. G. concluded by moving "That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Director, Vice-Presidents, and the Council, for their judicious and successful administration of the affairs of the Society in the past year."

The motion was seconded by Dr. HORSFIELD, and carried unanimously.

Sir GEORGE STAUNTON said that his Right Honourable colleague Sir Edward Ryan, having been requested to move the next resolution, had relinquished to him the pleasing task of returning thanks for the honour which had just been conferred on the Director, Vice-Presidents, and other Members of the Council.

It was impossible for him not to admit that the valuable services of our Director (whose unavoidable absence we had to regret this day,) fairly entitled him to this compliment from the Society: with respect to the Vice-Presidents and other Members of the Council, the assiduous attendance of our noble President, of the learned Director, and of the able and indefatigable Secretary, had in fact left them comparatively little

to do; but he begged to say for himself, and was sure he might do so on behalf of all his colleagues, that each in his department would gladly seize every opportunity in their power of promoting the objects and protecting the interests of the Society, and they were deeply sensible of the present testimony of its approval.

With respect to our communications from China, to which the noble President had alluded, and had done him the honour to associate with his name, Sir George said he certainly could not but feel some disappointment that they had not been more ample, and that our new relations with that country, and increasing facilities for collecting information respecting its condition, had not yet yielded more fruit to the Society, by adding to the interest of our Meetings, and enriching the pages of our Journal: but he thought considerable allowance was to be made for the novel and difficult position in which gentlemen now holding office in China were placed, as well as for their important and pressing public engagements. In his correspondence with his friends in that country, he had, as far as he might presume to do so, pressed the subject on their attention, and he felt confident that the Society might rely on receiving ere long, many valuable and interesting communications, not only from the Governor of Hong Kong, Sir John Davis, but also from the other distinguished scholars who now resided at the different ports of trade which had recently been opened to us in China.

Sir EDWARD RYAN rose to move "That the thanks of the Society be given to the Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, for their valuable exertions in the service of the Society."

He said that he had great pleasure in proposing this Resolution. However valuable were the services of the Officers of the Society to whom thanks had been already returned, every one must acknowledge that the progress and very existence of the Society was mainly owing to the attentions of their Secretary, without whose constant and unwearied exertions they felt they could not go on. All persons conversant with Literary and Scientific Societies were aware that though all had their burden, that the Secretary's share was by far the greatest; and he felt that to his friend Mr. Clarke their warmest thanks were due, not only for the very efficient manner in which his duties were discharged, but for the urbanity and kindness which attended all his transactions with the Members with whom his office brought him in contact. To the Treasurer also their thanks for his able financial arrangements were justly due, and to our Librarian for the care that he had taken of our library.

N. BLAND, Esq., seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. CLARKE begged leave to return his sincere thanks for the

flattering recognition of his services, respecting which he could only repeat the sentiments he had so often before expressed and most sincerely entertained that they were quite inadequate to his conception of what ought to be expected from a Secretary of such a Society. While, however, they so kindly requited them he should most readily continue to discharge those duties if the Society should again honour him by election on the present occasion; and he should do so the more willingly as he felt that his own insufficiencies were well compensated by the valuable exertions of his esteemed colleague Mr. Norris. That gentleman's extensive acquirements in many ancient and modern languages, and his peculiar and long cultivated taste for philological research had qualified him for rendering essential service in the development of the late discoveries which had been referred to in the Report read that day. Mr. Clarke doubted whether any other man but Mr. Norris would have so thoroughly accomplished the task of decyphering the Kapur di Giri inscription from the unpromising materials on which he had to work, and of transcribing its indistinctly traced letters from the cotton cloths that had been applied with laudable and laborious industry by Mr. Masson to the rough surface of the rock. This he had done, collating as he proceeded every letter he had traced with all other fragmental transcriptions, whether on other pieces of cloth or in partial copies before extant: thus following in the path of acute and laborious investigation marked out by the lamented Prinsep, he had produced a beautiful and correct representation on a reduced scale of that most curious and interesting inscription which would be very soon submitted to the world with the invaluable illustrations of our learned Director.

In Mr. Norris had also been found an accurate and trustworthy preparer of the important communications lately received from Major Rawlinson, which, without the minute and scrupulous attention and critical sagacity which that gentleman had brought to the task, and the unwearied care which he had bestowed on the lithographic process, would have been ushered into the world in a comparatively imperfect state. On the great value of such labours he would not dwell, he would only say that he felt the highest satisfaction when he contemplated the result of Mr. Norris's efforts, and he heartily commended him to the respect and esteem of this Society.

Mr. Shakespear shortly returned thanks.

Sir George Staunton moved "That the munificent liberality of James Alexander, Esq., the late Treasurer of this Society, now evinced for the fourth time in a donation of 100*l.*, calls for the expression of the most cordial thanks of this Meeting."

Sir George said that if he had had to address only the older Members of the Society, he should have thought it unnecessary to say one word in support of the present motion, as the merits and services

of Mr. James Alexander could not but be familiar to them; but as he might not be so well known to our more recent associates, on account of his retirement of late years in great measure from public life, it might not be superfluous to state that Mr. James Alexander had been one of the earliest and warmest friends of the Society, and had assisted our distinguished Founder Mr. Colebrooke, in all the arrangements connected with its original formation. As long as his health permitted, he was most assiduous in his attendance at our Councils, and contributed the most valuable aid and advice on various occasions; and, now, when no longer able to give us the benefit of his personal attendance, he has from time to time proved that we are not out of his recollection, by contributing the most liberal and well-timed donations in aid of our funds. This double claim on our gratitude, Sir George said he was sure the Society would feel great pleasure in acknowledging by the present vote.

The motion was seconded by Capt. EASTWICK, and carried unanimously.

Major CHASE and Capt. EASTWICK having been appointed Scrutineers, the Meeting proceeded to ballot for the Officers of the Society and for the new Members of Council.

The following was the result of the ballot:—The President, Director, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Librarian, and Secretary were re-elected.

The under-mentioned gentlemen were declared to be duly returned to serve on the Council in lieu of seven members who go out by rotation.

SAMUEL BALL, Esq.
NATHANIEL BLAND, Esq.
General GALLOWAY, C.B.
JOHN MACPHERSON MACLEOD, Esq.
Maj.-Gen W. MORRISON, C.B., M.P.
The Right Hon. Major-Gen. Sir HENRY POTTINGER, Bt., G. C. B.
Major Sir HENRY WILLOCK, K.L.S.

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REGULATIONS

FOR

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

7th February, 1846.

REGULATIONS

FOR

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

OF THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY GENERALLY, AND OF ITS MEMBERS.

ARTICLE I.—The ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND is instituted for the investigation and encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and Literature, in relation to Asia.

ARTICLE II.—The Society consists of *Resident*, *Non-resident*, *Honorary*, *Foreign*, and *Corresponding* Members.

ARTICLE III.—Members, whose usual place of abode is in Great Britain or Ireland, are considered to be *Resident*.

ARTICLE IV.—Those whose usual abode is not in Great Britain or Ireland, being, however, British subjects, are denominated *Non-resident*.

ARTICLE V.—Foreigners of eminent rank or station, or persons who have contributed to the attainment of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner, are eligible as *Honorary* Members.

ARTICLE VI.—The Class of *Foreign* Members shall consist of not more than *Fifty* Members; and no person shall be eligible as a *Foreign* Member who is a British subject, or whose usual place of residence is in any part of the British dominions in Europe.

ARTICLE VII.—Any person not residing within the British Islands, who may be considered likely to communicate valuable information to the Society, is eligible for election as a *Corresponding* Member.

ARTICLE VIII.—All the Members of the Society, of whatever denomination, *Resident*, *Non-resident*, *Honorary*, *Foreign*, or *Corresponding*, must be elected at the General Meetings of the Society, in the manner hereinafter described.

ARTICLE IX.—*Honorary*, *Foreign*, and *Corresponding* Members, when residing in England, have a right of admission to the Meetings, Library, and Museum of the Society; but are not eligible to its offices, or entitled to copies of the Transactions.

Article X.—Literary and Scientific Societies established in Asia may be admitted by a vote of a Special General Meeting, on the recommendation of the Council, to be Branch Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Article XI.—Branch Societies shall have independent control over their own funds, and the administration of their local affairs.

Article XII.—Members of the Branch Societies, while on furlough, or otherwise temporarily resident in England, shall be admitted to the Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society, and shall enjoy all the other privileges of Members except that of voting. If desirous of becoming *Non-resident* or *Resident* Members, they shall be eligible at a General Meeting by immediate ballot, and they will be required to make the payments directed by Articles XLIII and XLV.

Article XIII.—The following Societies are declared to be Branch Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society:—

The Literary Society of Bombay;
The Literary Society of Madras;
The Asiatic Society of Ceylon.

MODE OF ELECTING THE MEMBERS.

Article XIV.—Any person desirous of becoming a *Resident* or *Non-resident* Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, must be proposed by Three or more subscribing Members, one, at least, of whom must have personal acquaintance with him, on a certificate of recommendation, declaring his name and usual place of abode; specifying also such titles and additions as it may be wished should accompany the name in the list of Members of the Society.

Article XV.—A candidate proposed as a *Foreign* Member must be recommended to the Society by five Members, or more.

Article XVI.—The Council may, upon special grounds, propose to a General Meeting the election of any Foreigner of eminent rank and station, or any person who shall have contributed to the attainment of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner, either by donation or otherwise, to be elected an *Honorary* Member of the Society; and, upon such proposition the Society shall proceed to an immediate ballot.

Article XVII.—The Council may propose for election as a *Corresponding* Member any person not residing within the British Islands who may be considered likely to communicate valuable information to the Society.

Article XVIII.—Every recommendation of a Candidate proposed for election, whether a *Resident, Non-resident, Foreign*, or *Corresponding* Member, shall be read at two successive General Meetings of the Society. After the first reading, the certificate shall remain suspended in the Meeting-room of the Society till the ballot for the election takes place, which will be immediately after the second reading of the certificate; except in the cases of the Members of Branch Societies, who are eligible for immediate ballot.

ARTICLE XIX.—No candidate shall be considered as elected, unless he has in his favour the votes of three-fourths of the Members present who vote.

ARTICLE XX.—The election of every candidate shall be entered on the minutes of the proceedings of the Meeting at which he is elected: but should it appear, upon inspecting the ballot, that the person proposed is not elected, no mention thereof shall be inserted in the minutes.

ARTICLE XXI.—When a candidate in elected a *Resident* or *Non-resident* Member of the Society, the Secretary shall inform him of his election by letter.

ARTICLE XXII.—To an *Honorary, Foreign*, or *Corresponding* Member there shall be transmitted, as soon as may be after his election, a Diploma, under the seal of the Society, signed by the President, Director, and Secretary.

OF THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS, AND OF COMMITTEES.

ARTICLE XXIII.—There shall be a Council of Twenty-five *Resident* Members, constituted for the management and direction of the affairs of the Society.

ARTICLE XXIV.—The Officers of the Society shall form a part of the Council, and shall consist of a President, a Director, four Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Librarian. The Council will, therefore, be composed of sixteen Members, besides the Officers.

ARTICLE XXV.—The Council and Officers shall be elected annually by ballot, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, on the Second *Saturday* in *May*.

ARTICLE XXVI.—Eight Members of the Council shall go out annually by rotation, and eight new Members shall be elected in their places, from the body of the Society.

ARTICLE XXVII.—The Council shall meet once in every month, or oftener, during the Session.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—At any Meeting of the Council, *Five Members* of it being present shall constitute a *quorum*.

ARTICLE XXIX.—The Council shall be summoned, under the sanction and authority of the President or Director, or, in their absence, of one of the Vice-Presidents, by a circular letter from the Secretary.

ARTICLE XXX.—The Council shall have the power of provisionally filling up vacancies in its own body, occasioned by resignation or death.

ARTICLE XXXI.—Committees for the attainment of specific purposes within the scope of the Society's views, may, from time to time, be appointed by the Council, to whom their reports shall be submitted previously to their being presented at a Special, or at an Anniversary, Meeting of the Society.

COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

Article XXXII.—The Council shall appoint a *Committee of Correspondence*, to consist of a Chairman, two Deputy-Chairmen, twelve Members, and a Secretary, with power to add to its number and to fill up vacancies occasioned by resignation, removal, or death; four of such twelve Members to go out annually, and be replaced by a similar number from the general body of the Members.

Article XXXIII.—The special objects of the *Committee of Correspondence* are, to receive intelligence and inquiries relating to the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia, and to endeavour to obtain for applicants such information on those subjects as they may require.

COMMITTEE OF PAPERS.

Article XXXIV.—The Council shall appoint a *Committee of Papers*, to which all papers communicated to the Society shall be referred for examination; and it shall report to the Council from time to time such as it may deem eligible for publication, or to be read at the General Meetings.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

Article XXXV.—The functions of the President are, to preside at Meetings of the Society, and of the Council; to conduct the proceedings, and preserve order; to state and put questions, according to the sense and intention of the Members assembled; to give effect to the Resolutions of the Meeting; and to cause the Regulations of the Society to be put in force.

Article XXXVI.—The functions of the Director are twofold, *general* and *special*. His general functions are those of a *Presiding Officer*, being next in rank to the President; by virtue of which he will preside at Meetings when the President is absent, and discharge his duties. His special functions relate to the department of Oriental Literature, which is placed under his particular care and superintendence.

Article XXXVII.—The duties of the Vice-Presidents are, to preside at the Meetings of the Society and of the Council, when the chair is not filled by the President or Director; and to act for the President on all occasions when he is absent, and when his functions are not undertaken by the Director.

Article XXXVIII.—The Treasurer will receive, on account of and for the use of the Society, all moneys due to it, and make payments out of the funds of the Society, according to directions from the Council.

Article XXXIX.—The Treasurer's Accounts shall be audited annually, previously to the Anniversary Meeting of the Society. The Council shall, for that purpose, name three Auditors, of whom two shall be taken from the Society at large, and the third shall be a Member of the Council. The Auditors shall report to the Society, at its Anniversary Meeting, on the state in which they have found the Society's funds.

Article XL.—The functions of the Secretary are the following:—

He shall attend the Meetings of the Society, and of the Council, and record their proceedings. At the General Meetings he will read the Papers that have been communicated; unless any Member obtain permission from the Council to read a paper that he has communicated to the Society.

He shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and of the Council.

He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society; subject, however, to the control and superintendence of the Council.

He shall, under the direction and control of the Council, superintend the Expenditure of the Society. He shall be competent, on his own responsibility, to discharge small bills; but any account exceeding the sum of Five Pounds shall previously be submitted to the Council, and, if approved, be paid by an order of the Council, entered on the Minutes.

He shall have the charge, under the direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

Article XLI.—If the Secretary shall, at any time, by illness, or any other cause, be prevented from attending to the duties of his office, the Council shall authorize the Assistant-Secretary, or request one of its Members to discharge his functions, till he shall himself be able to resume them.

Article XLII.—The Librarian shall have the charge and custody of all books, manuscripts, and other objects of learning or curiosity, of which the Society may become possessed, whether by donation, bequest, or purchase; and apartments shall be appropriated, in which those objects may be safely deposited and preserved.

ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS AND PAYMENTS WHICH ARE TO BE MADE TO THE SOCIETY BY THE MEMBERS.

Article XLIII.—Every *Resident* Member is required to pay the following sums upon his election, viz:—

Admission Fee	Five Guineas.
Annual Subscription	Three Guineas.
(Unless his election shall take place in December, in which case the first Annual Subscription shall not be due till the succeeding January.)	
The following compositions are allowed, viz.	
Upon election, in lieu of Annual Subscriptions by the Payment of	Thirty Guineas.
After two Annual Payments	Twenty-five Guineas.
After four or more Annual Payments	Twenty Guineas.

Article XLIV.—Any person elected as a *Resident* Member of the Society, who shall proceed to reside in any place out of Europe, shall not be required to continue his Annual Subscription while so absent. A Member

availing himself of this exemption will not be furnished with the Society's Journal, except at his own request, and on payment of the Member's price.

Article XLV.—Any person who shall henceforward desire to become a *Non-resident* Member of the Society, shall, on his election, pay the Admission Fee, but shall not be required to pay any Annual Subscription or Composition. But if he subsequently become permanently resident in Great Britain or Ireland, he shall be required to pay the Annual Subscription of Three Guineas, or the regulated Composition in lieu thereof, as a *Resident* Member.

Article XLVI.—*Honorary*, *Foreign*, and *Corresponding* Members, shall not be liable to any contributions, either on their admission, or as annual payments.

Article XLVII.—Every person elected a *Resident* Member of the Society shall make the payment due from him within two calendar months after the date of his election; or, if elected a *Non-Resident* Member, within eighteen calendar months after his election; otherwise his election shall be void; unless the Council, in any particular case, shall decide on extending the period within which such payments are to be made.

Article XLVIII.—All annual subscriptions shall be paid to the Treasurer on the first day of January in each year; and in case the same should not be paid by the end of that month, the Treasurer is authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Secretary shall apply, by letter, to those members who are in arrears. If the arrears be not discharged by the first of January following such application, the Subscriber's name, as a defaulter, shall be suspended in the Meeting-room, and due notice be given him of the same. The name shall remain thus suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing; when, if the Subscription be not paid, it shall be publicly announced that the defaulter is no longer a member of the Society, and the reason shall be assigned.

Article XLIX.—The publications of the Society shall not be forwarded to any Member, whose subscription for the current year remains unpaid.

Article L.—The Resignation of no Member shall be received until he has sent in a written declaration, and has paid up all his arrears of Subscription.

OF THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

Article LI.—The Meetings of the Society, to which all the Members have admission, and at which the general business of the Society is transacted, are termed General Meetings.

Article LII.—At these Meetings, the chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, either by the Director or one of the Vice-Presidents; or, should these Officers also be absent, by a Member of the Council.

ARTICLE LIII.—*Ten Members* being present, the Meeting shall be considered as constituted, and capable of entering upon business.

ARTICLE LIV.—The general Meetings of the Society shall be held on the *first* and *third Saturday* in every month, from November to June, both inclusive; excepting on the *first Saturday* in May, and the Saturdays preceding Easter and Whit Sundays and Christmas-day.

ARTICLE LV.—The business of the General Meetings shall be, the proposing of candidates, the election and admission of Members, the acceptance and acknowledgement of Donations, and the reading of Papers communicated to the Society on subjects of science, literature, and the arts, in connexion with Asia.

ARTICLE LVI.—Nothing relative to the regulations, management, or pecuniary affairs of the Society shall be introduced and discussed at General Meetings, unless the Meeting shall have been declared *special*, in the manner hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE LVII.—Every Member of the Society has the privilege of introducing, either personally or by a card, one or two visitors at a General Meeting; but no stranger shall be permitted to be present, unless so introduced, and approved of by the Meeting.

ARTICLE LVIII.—The admission of a new Member may take place at any General Meeting. When he has paid his admission fee and subscribed the Obligation-Book, the President, or whoever fills the chair, standing up, shall take him by the hand, and say:—"*In the name and by the authority of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, I admit you a Member thereof.*"

ARTICLE LIX.—The Obligation-Book is intended to form a record, on the part of the Members, (by means of the signature of their names in their own hand-writing,) of their having entered into the Society, with an engagement (distinctly expressed at the head of the page on which their names are signed,) that they will promote the interests and welfare of the Society, and submit to its Regulations and Statutes.

ARTICLE LX.—The Council may at any time call a *Special Meeting* of the Society, to consider and determine any matter of interest that may arise; to pass, abrogate, or amend regulations, and to fill up the vacancy of any office occasioned by death or resignation.

ARTICLE LXI.—Such Special Meetings shall also be convened by the Council on the written requisition of *Five Members* of the Society, setting forth the proposal to be made, or the subject to be discussed.

ARTICLE LXII.—Notice of Special Meetings shall be given to every Member residing within the limits of the London District of the post-office; apprising him of the time of the Meeting, and of the business which is to be submitted to its consideration. No other business shall be brought forward besides that which has been so notified.

ARTICLE LXIII.—The course of business, at *General Meetings*, shall be as follows:—

1. Any specific and particular business which the Council may have appointed for the consideration of the Meeting, and of which notice has been given according to Article LXII., shall be discussed.
2. The names of strangers proposed to be introduced shall be read from the Chair; and if approved, they shall be admitted.
3. The Minutes of the preceding Meeting shall be read by the Secretary, and signed by the Chairman.
4. Donations presented to the Society shall be announced or laid before the Meeting.
5. Certificates of recommendation of candidates shall be read.
6. New Members shall be admitted.
7. Ballots for new Members shall take place.
8. Papers and communications shall be read.

ARTICLE LXIV.—The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be held on the second *Saturday* in *May*, to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing year; to receive and consider a Report of the Council on the state of the Society; to receive the Report of the Auditors on the Treasurer's Accounts; to receive the Report of the Committee of Correspondence; to enact or repeal Regulations; and to deliberate on such other questions as may be proposed relative to the affairs of the Society.

OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

ARTICLE LXV.—Communications and Papers read to the Society shall, from time to time, be published, under the title of *Transactions*, or *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

ARTICLE LXVI.—All *Resident* and *Non-resident* Members of the Society are entitled to receive, *gratis*, those parts or volumes of the *Transactions* or *Journal* published subsequently to their election; and to purchase, at an established reduced price, such volumes or parts as may have been previously published.

ARTICLE LXVII.—The Council are authorised to present copies of the *Transactions* or *Journal* to learned Societies and distinguished individuals.

ARTICLE LXVIII.—Every original communication presented to the Society becomes its property; but the author, or contributor, may republish it twelve months after its publication by the Society. The Council may publish any original communication presented to the Society, in any way and at any time judged proper; but if printed in the Society's *Transactions* or *Journal*, twenty-five copies of it shall be presented to the author or contributor when the Volume or Part in which it is inserted is published. Any paper which the Council may not see fit to publish, may, with its permission, be returned to the Author, upon the condition that, if it be published by him a printed copy of it shall be presented to the Society.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

ARTICLE LXIX.—Every person who shall contribute to the Library or Museum, or to the General Fund of the Society, shall be recorded as a Benefactor, and his gift shall be acknowledged in the next publication of the Society's *Transactions* or *Journal.*

ARTICLE LXX.—No books, papers, models, or other property belonging to the Society, shall be lent out of the Society's House, without a written authority from the Librarian or Secretary. Every Member of the Society has a right, between the hours of ten and four, to inspect the books or manuscripts of the Society, and to transcribe extracts therefrom, or take copies; but no stranger shall be allowed the use of the Library without the permission of the Council.

ARTICLE LXXI.—The Museum shall be open for the admission of the public, on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, between the hours of eleven and four, either by the personal or written introduction of Members, or by tickets, which may be obtained by Members at the Society's House.

LONDON: HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

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OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CORRECTED TO THE 30TH OF JUNE,
M.DCCC.XLVI.

1846.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING

OF THE SOCIETY,

HELD ON THE 13TH MAY, 1848,

PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON,

DIRECTOR,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Report of the Council was read by the HONORARY SECRETARY:—

THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society cannot better commence their Annual Report than by congratulating the Members on their possession of a house far better adapted to the wants and uses of this Society than that which they had occupied from the earliest date of their existence until the present time.

At the last Annual Meeting a resolution was moved, and unanimously carried, pledging the Members to the early consideration of the best means of improving the position which the Society holds among the Literary Institutions of the country; and on the 5th of June following a Committee was appointed to carry that resolution into effect.

Of the measures which presented themselves as most urgently calling for adoption, none seemed more indispensable than the removal of the Institution to a house which should possess greater facilities, for the exhibition and use of the valuable stores which they now possess, and which might also relieve them from the painful necessity under which they have long laboured, of actually declining to accept very extensive and valuable additions to their Library and Museum for lack of space where to bestow such offered treasures. The Committee were convinced that, while labouring under so great disadvantages, it was vain to hope that the number of Members would receive any sensible increase, or that its income would be enlarged in any proportion to its wants. They strongly urged, therefore, on the Council, and, eventually, on a General Meeting of the Society, the vast importance of possessing a house where the capabilities and resources of the Institution could be more

effectually developed, and greater inducements proffered to become associated in the pursuit of the objects for which it is constituted.

The inquiries which had become necessary into the financial state of the Society showed that its capacity to meet its expenditure for some years past had been created, not alone by the regular income derived from the contributions of its Members, but by casual donations of large amount from munificent patrons, on some of which it would be unreasonable to rely for the future, while others had actually become exhausted; yet if for these no substitute were found, much difficulty and embarrassment would necessarily ensue.

Under these circumstances it was resolved to make an urgent appeal to the liberality of the Honourable the Court of Directors, setting forth the grounds of the Society's reliance on the sympathy of the Honourable Court in the critical position of the Society's affairs. The Memorial recalled attention to the continued endeavours of the Society to fulfil the objects contemplated by its founders and patrons; to the establishment under its auspices, and in connexion with it, of the Oriental Translation Fund, and of the Branch for editing Oriental Texts; and to the formation, in 1836, of the Committee for the investigation of the Agriculture and Commerce of India, whose labours, continued till 1839, under the efficient guidance of its learned and indefatigable Secretary, Dr. Royle, had accomplished much, and would have effected more, had not the Honourable Company, aware of the great importance of the subjects with which the Committee had undertaken to deal, resolved to make the most efficient provision to ensure their attainment, by measures of greater extent and activity than the Society could have had at its command. The Memorial further declared that the future success of the Society, "and even its prolonged existence, must depend, not upon retrenchment of its present expenditure, but upon such an enlargement of its operations as should meet the wants and expectations of the public, and reflect credit on the nation at large."

To this Memorial, the Right Honourable the President was pleased to affix his signature, and to forward it with the expression of his entire concurrence in the sentiments it contained.

The Honourable Court have most liberally responded to the request submitted to them, expressing their conviction that the objects for which the Society was established are deserving of encouragement and support, and increasing their annual grant to the general funds of the Society from one hundred to two hundred guineas per annum.

It will now be the earnest endeavour of the Council to improve to the utmost the opportunity thus presented of enlarging the operations, and extending the influence of the Society; of adding to its Library and Museum, and rendering accessible whatever it may possess and receive, to all who seek for information on subjects connected with the literature and history, the sciences and arts of Asia.

One mode which presents itself of increasing the attractions of the Society is that of having Lectures delivered in these rooms. Abundant

topics will be found in the range of the Society's labours, which would admit of popular illustration; and the Council have reason to believe that several among the Members of the Society would contribute the aid of their talents and knowledge to so useful a purpose. They are not prepared with any definite plan for immediate proposal; but they trust the present notice of the projected scheme may both facilitate its final adoption, and excite interest in the friends of the Society.

In conclusion of their remarks on this subject, the Council desire to urge on every Member of the Society the duty of individual exertion in furtherance of the several objects to which they have called the attention of the Meeting. Any additions that may be obtained to the present stores of interest and value will now be ranged where they can be advantageously consulted or seen. Every contribution to the Library which shall fill a vacuum now existing, will be gladly received; and the Council will no longer endure the mortification of being unable to second the liberal intentions of friends, who may desire that the collections which they have made during a long or active service in India, should be rendered available to the public by means of the Royal Asiatic Society. And, lastly, the Council entertain the hope that the Members will individually avail themselves of every opportunity to make known to their friends the interesting objects of this Society's researches, and of enrolling among its numbers all who sincerely desire the extension of information on any subject illustrating the past and present physical, moral, and scientific condition of the vast and various regions of Asia.

The losses by death in the course of last year consist of eleven Contributing Members*, one Honorary†, and one Foreign Member‡. Four Contributing Members have retired§. These Members have not been replaced by the Elections, which have consisted only of seven Resident Members, three Non-Resident, and three Corresponding Members||.

* Annesley, Sir J. H., M.D.; Barnewell, Lieut.-Col. Robt.; Cogan, Capt. R.; Earl, G. W., Esq.; Hunter, Sir Richard, M.D.; Moor, Major Edward; Powis, the Earl of; Strachey, Richard, Esq.; Pollock, Sir David; Turner, Samuel, Esq.; Doyle, Col. C. J.

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The late Major Edward Moor entered the military service of the East India Company, on the Bombay Establishment, as long since as 1781. Having been attached to the division which, under the command of Captain Little, accompanied the Mahratta Army intended to co-operate with the British force under Lord Cornwallis against Tipú Sultán, Lieutenant Moor made his first appearance as an author in a narrative of the proceedings of the detachment, and of their Mahratta allies, which was published in London in 1794. At that period, the constitution and character of the Mahratta States were little known; and the novelty of the subject gave the publication an interest and importance of which the more ample and authentic information since available has in some measure divested it; but it may still be consulted as a lively and accurate picture of a people who, in those days, enjoyed a foremost place in the history of India, but who have since ceased politically to exist.

The next work published by Major Moor was a useful compilation of the Regulations of the Bombay Army, printed in 1801; shortly after which he returned to Europe, and retired from the Service.

The interest which he took in the institutions of the Hindus led him to form a collection illustrative of their mythology and manners; and his familiarity with the subject introduced him to the acquaintance of Sir Joseph Banks and Mr. Wilkins, in consequence of which he became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and engaged in the publication of an extensive and elaborate work on Hindu mythology,—the "Hindu Pantheon." This was published, in one volume, quarto, with numerous outline engravings, in 1810. The materials are derived partly from Major Moor's own information, and that furnished him by Mr. Wilkins; and partly from his own collections, and those of the India House; but it was principally taken from the volumes of the Asiatic Researches, as far as they then extended. At that early period of the inquiry, the materials were necessarily imperfect and incomplete; but they were liberally and judiciously made use of; and the "Hindu Pantheon" is even now the only work to which reference is easy, and on which reliance may be placed for authentic information respecting the leading peculiarities of the mythology of the Hindus.

Some papers relating to the barbarous usage, prevailing in Guzerat, of putting female infants to death, drawn up by Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, and other documents on the same subject, having been put into the hands of Major Moor, he arranged and published them in 1811, with additional information; forming a valuable record of a practice which, although it is to be feared not yet extinct, has been greatly checked by the persevering discountenance of the British Government, and the exertions of its officers. Subsequently to this publication, Major Moor seems to have intermitted his literary avocations, although he retained an undiminished interest in Oriental studies, and zealously promoted the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was one of the original Members.

Having settled at Bealings, in Suffolk, Major Moor interested himself

in the peculiarities of the dialect of the county; and after some interval published a small dictionary of Suffolk words.

In 1834 he put together the scattered notes of preceding years, and published an amusing volume,—a mixture of Oriental archæology and Indian anecdotes, under the denomination of "Oriental Fragments." A little book of local origin, and published for a charitable purpose in 1841, under the title of "Bealings Bells," closed Major Moor's literary career; and as he must then have been between seventy and eighty years of age, is a remarkable proof of the continued activity of his mental faculties.

Major Moor resided many years in Suffolk, and, to use his own words, "unwilling to be altogether idle or useless, I had shared in the administration of justice; and, in the preservation of peace in the county, had acted in various commissions under the Crown." As long as his health permitted, he was a regular attendant at the Society's meetings; and to the last retained a lively interest in its welfare.

The late Sir James Annesley was a distinguished member of the Medical Service of the East India Company, under the Presidency of Madras. During the greater part of twenty-five years' practice, his opportunities of acquiring professional experience were highly favourable, extending over almost every part of India, under all circumstances and situations of intertropical service, amongst Europeans as well as Natives, in all classes of the community, public and private. Of these advantages he zealously availed himself, taking notes of all the symptoms, progress, and treatment of the diseases which came under his superintendence, which he regularly preserved and arranged, with suitable indices appended to them. He also caused drawings to be executed of the more interesting and remarkable changes produced upon the internal organs by the disease he was called upon to treat. While on furlough to England, in the year 1825, he published in one octavo volume his "Sketches of the most prevalent Diseases of India," comprising a treatise on the epidemic cholera of the East; statistical and topographical reports of the diseases in the different divisions of the Army under the Madras Presidency, with the annual rate of mortality, &c., of European troops; and containing also some practical observations on the effects of calomel on the alimentary canal, and on the diseases most prevalent in India. In this work some of the most important subjects of consideration to the medical practitioner in the East were ably treated, rendering it a useful and valuable guide to practice. A second edition was published in 1828.

The above sketches may be considered the precursor of Mr. Annesley's large and still more important work entitled "Researches into the Causes, Nature, and Treatment of the more prevalent Diseases of India, and of Warm Climates generally; illustrated with Cases, Post-mortem Examinations, and numerous coloured Engravings of Morbid Structures." This work, published in 1828, and consisting of two quarto volumes, of 687 and 586 pages respectively, illustrated with 40 beautifully coloured

plates, is a monument of the untiring industry of the author, engaged as he incessantly was in a hot and debilitating climate. The publication of this large and valuable work would have been "totally out of his power, but for the liberality of the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, who, in the most handsome manner, enabled him to bring out his work in the present form." The form, it is hardly necessary to state, is highly creditable to all parties. The author commences his work on the physiology of digestion, and the functions of the liver, spleen, and intestines; and then proceeds to give a general view of the causes chiefly productive of diseases in warm climates, particularly in India, and gives a very useful abstract view of the climates of different parts of India, as well as of some other hot parts of the world. The diseases themselves he treats of under those of the stomach, of the liver, and biliary apparatus, which, with appendices, comprise his first volume. The second commences with the diseases of the bowels and of the spleen and pancreas; and proceeds to the fevers of warm climates, more particularly those of India; and concludes with a chapter on the management of European troops upon their arrival in India; with several appendices. Of the importance of this work it will be sufficient to state that one of the principal medical periodicals made it the subject of review, through several numbers, and even volumes, commencing with stating:—"This magnificent work will transmit Mr. Annesley's name to posterity, in conjunction with the medical history of our extensive empire in the East."

By the decease of COLONEL BARNEWALL the Society have lost a zealous Member, and an active and sincere friend. Though not known to the world by any literary productions of Eastern learning, he was distinguished as one of the most valuable among the able public servants who were employed on the western side of the Peninsula, under the discriminating patronage of Mr. Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, among people unaccustomed to the enlightened administration of British rule, and subject to the violent and arbitrary control of turbulent and predatory chiefs. Over such men he obtained influence by a thorough acquaintance with their language, their usages, and their interests; and by the consistency and integrity of his public conduct amongst them. The great extent and accuracy of his knowledge of all valuable details in the revenue and political departments in which he has been employed, enabled him to impart the most useful advice and information in aid of the counsels of our rulers in India; and when, after a long and laborious service abroad, his shattered health compelled him to resign his duties in India, and to fix his permanent abode in his native land, his stores of familiar acquaintance with Indian politics and administration led to frequent calls for his opinions, as well as for the valuable knowledge he could impart to the counsellors and officers of the State and of the East India Company.

In all the relations of private life he was exemplary. The benevolence of his heart, and the suavity of his manners, endeared him to all

who were brought into near connection with him; and it is observed by one who knew him well, that, while regardless of himself, and utterly unselfish, his exertions on behalf of others were unwearied; so that all who went to him in distress came from him in better heart and better hope; and among his friends he seemed as only living to accomplish good.

His Highness the RAJA PRATAB SING, of SATTARA, was elected an Honorary Member of this Society in 1828, in testimony of their appreciation of the disposition he had evinced to encourage the progress of education among his people, and to promote the multiplication of useful public works. Amongst these latter may be particularly specified an aqueduct brought under ground about three miles, from the neighbouring hills, which supplied the upper part of the town of Sattara with water, of which there was none before. This work was highly spoken of in 1826, by a Captain of the Royal Engineers, who was passing through Sattara, and who noticed with admiration the great knowledge of hydraulics displayed in the construction of this work by the Native Engineers in the Raja's service.

The number of the Journal now laid on the table will be found to contain an interesting paper, by Mr. Thomas, on the Coins of the Kings of Ghaznî, which will add some facts, and decide some disputed points in the history of a dynasty which performed so important a part on the scene of Indian history.

The Berber text of the narrative of Sidí Ibrahim el-Messi, of which the English translation was printed in the fourth volume of our Journal, also forms a portion of the same Number. This text, in a language hitherto very little known, but brought into more prominent notice by recent events in Africa, had lain several years in the Society's Library, when Mr. Newman, the author of a Berber Grammar, kindly undertook and gratuitously completed the task of editing the work for the Society, adding to the original a verbal and interlinear translation, with some valuable notes. This first-edited Berber text will be found a valuable contribution to comparative philology in a class of languages of which the branches hitherto investigated are few, and all of one division of that class, while the Berber, with its dialects, will enable the student to enter a new field, affording enlarged means of comparison.

The last paper in the volume is one on the Cuneiform inscriptions of Van, which were copied in Armenia by the unfortunate Schultz, about twenty years ago, and published in the "Journal Asiatique" in the year 1840. The inscriptions of Van are written in the Cuneiform character of the third class; but differing in some respects from the alphabets which have been termed Babylonian and Assyrian, though not so much but that the same type serves for the whole. The language is decidedly distinct from that found at Babylon and Nineveh. The paper is by Dr. Hincks, who is of opinion that the language is closely allied to the

Sanskrit; and who gives analyses and texts in support of that opinion. Although it is difficult to pronounce a judgment upon conclusions arrived at by a consideration of detached and insulated passages, producing only partial results, as yet uncorroborated by historical evidence of any kind, there cannot be a doubt that the dissections and analyses of these extensive inscriptions, furnished in the paper alluded to, will serve as a valuable guide to future investigators; and enable those who are more learned in the original languages than the writer pretends to be, to carry on the investigation to more positive and complete results. A supplementary portion of the paper is occupied chiefly on the numerical system of these monuments, and its conclusions upon this point bear the stamp of certainty.

The interpretation of the Babylonian and Assyrian records has advanced less than was expected from the perseverance and talents of the investigators. A very valuable portion has been recovered from the Behistún rock by Major Rawlinson, of which we have already a Persian translation. This fragment contains fortunately a number of names, and thus adds several forms to the alphabet, while some readings, only guessed at before, are made clear by this addition to the resources within the reach of Major Rawlinson: but as there seems to be a drawback upon every discovery that has been made in this branch of the enquiry, so in the present instance no complete sentence has been found: one corner only of the rock is legible; and the half, at least, of every line discovered is irrecoverably lost. The names too, in many instances, are not transcriptions of those we find in the Persian; but either translations, or else denominations quite unconnected with those. As an instance, we may give the name *Gandara*, which is made in Babylonian by a word which may be read as *Paropanisus*. The health of Major Rawlinson has prevented his completing a paper on this branch of the investigation; and in his last letter, which was dated on the 25th February, he complained of fever and inability to study; at the same time he spoke of his hopes of sending a chapter on the Babylonian language within a post or two.

Of the Median monuments we have nothing: the superior interest excited by the Babylonian and Assyrian remains has induced Major Rawlinson to abandon for a time his labours upon the valuable copies he has made of the great Behistún inscription in that language, which afford such large materials for study. This delay is the more to be regretted, as the Major has made very complete transcripts; and his memoir on the reading and language is understood to have been near completion.

The publication of M. Botta's work will probably await more tranquil times on the Continent; but we are glad to state that the inscriptions brought by Mr. Layard from Nimrúd are in the printer's hands, and that they may be expected to appear before the close of the summer, under the auspices of the Authorities of the British Museum. A large stock of material will thus be afforded to the investigators of these remains of

remote antiquity. The drawings of the sculptured figures made at the same localities by Mr. Layard, which have been recently exhibited at a meeting of the Society, by that gentleman, have attracted much attention, from the superior style of art which they evince; and as many of the original figures have fallen to pieces since the drawings were made, these are now become invaluable. We are glad to hear that there is every hope of their being published.

The Memoir on the Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions, containing the Vocabulary, will form the eleventh volume of the Journal. It is proposed to carry on the volume to the end of the Vocabulary, without dividing it into numbers or parts, the subject not being easily susceptible of division, and being of little interest until complete.

The Annual Account, duly audited, is laid on the table, and from that document and the Auditors' Report it will be seen that, the receipts fall short of the amount of the corresponding item in 1846 by 180*l*., but the expenses are also lower than those of the former year by 396*l*., establishing a favourable comparison with the result of the financial transactions of the preceding year to the extent of 216*l*. The principal cause of this difference however is to be found in the extraordinary expenditure of 1846 on account of printing, which, as stated in last year's Report, included a large portion of the outlay for 1845; and not in any favourable circumstances in the operations of last year which could justify a hope of a permanent diminution of expenditure. The actual balance remaining in hand, at the close of the year's account, was less by 46*l*. than the balance at the end of 1846. This will be partly accounted for by the usual payment of 30*l*. not having been made by the Oriental Translation Fund.

It has not been thought desirable, on the present occasion, to submit the usual Estimate of Receipts and Expenditure for 1848, as the expenses necessarily consequent on the removal to a new house, and the preparation of that which they last occupied for the accommodation of a new tenant, are incapable of any calculation sufficiently accurate to render such estimate of practical value. It may be generally stated, however, that there is good reason to believe that the expenses adverted to, are not likely to exceed 500*l*.; and it is with peculiar gratification that the Council here again revert to the important addition of 100 guineas made to the permanent income of the Society by the liberal patronage of the East India Company.

Report of the Oriental Translation Fund.

The resources of the Oriental Translation Committee have been so straitened by the necessity of discharging the heavy liabilities incurred in the printing of important works, the publication of which has extended over a series of years, that the Committee have been compelled to confine their expenditure during the past year within very narrow limits. Since

the last annual meeting of the Society they have published the second volume of M. Garcin de Tassy's valuable work, the "Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani;" and they will shortly present to the subscribers a small volume, comprising translations, by the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, of Bombay, of two works of the Jains,—the "Kalpa Sútra," their principal sacred book; and a short treatise entitled "Nava Tatwa," their most celebrated philosophical authority. An Appendix is added by the learned translator, containing some valuable remarks on the language of the original.

Of the history, literature, and principles of the Jains, perhaps the most ancient sect of the wide-spread religion of Buddha, comparatively little is known; and the present translations will therefore possess considerable interest. Dr. Stevenson has prefixed to them a learned explanatory preface. The Committee are indebted to Professor Wilson for the superintendence of the work through the press.

Mr. Bland's "History of Persian Poetry," already in a very forward state of progress, has been suspended, to enable the author to avail himself of an important acquisition of new materials, in addition to the numerous sources already drawn from. It is hoped, however, that the first volume, which would otherwise have appeared in time for this Anniversary, will still be printed before the end of the present year.

Continued applications are made to the Committee for their assistance and patronage in the publication of translations from Oriental languages; and they must again express their regret that the limited funds at their disposal have compelled to decline the acceptance of several offers of works for printing under its auspices.

Report of the Oriental Texts Society.

The Committee of the Society for the publication of Oriental Texts have to congratulate its Subscribers on the completion of the "Festal Letters of Athanasius," edited by the Rev. Wm. Cureton, from a MS. of the fourth century, forming part of the valuable collection obtained for the British Museum, from the Nitrian Monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in the Valley of the Natron Lake.

The publication of this text, important in itself, as preserving in the Syriac version one of the earliest works of the Christian Fathers, only partially existing in the Greek, derives additional value from the interesting character of the manuscript, as well as from the singular circumstances of the discovery, and of the acquisition of the library in which the "Festal Letters" were contained. A high degree of interest attaches also to the fact of the MS. being a Palimpsest, the Syriac being written upon what was subsequently found to be a copy of works, in themselves possessing rare antiquity and value; for the learned and painfully laborious investigations of the editor were rewarded by the reproduction, simultaneously, of this important document of ecclesiastical history—of an extraordinary copy of the Gospel of St. Luke, nearly entire—and of a

fragment, by far the most extensive, and probably also the most ancient yet obtained, of the Iliad of the immortal Homer.

The particulars of the history of this venerable manuscript are minutely detailed in Mr. Cureton's preface, which, though somewhat exceeding the limits prescribed for an editor of text, will be eagerly perused by all lovers of learning and paleography, as recording a discovery justly entitled to be esteemed one of the most remarkable of the "Curiosities of Literature."

In Persian may be announced the publication of two works, which, although not yet delivered to the Subscribers, will be ready before the close of the Society's meetings, and may therefore be considered as belonging to the present year.

Of these, the "History of the Atábegs," edited by Mr. Morley, is a valuable addition to those parts of the Rauzat us Safá already published by other Orientalists; for it is only by a similar division of labour, in editing separately and in series, distinct portions of the work, that we can hope to obtain the completion of a text of such vast extent as that of Mirkhond's History. Prefixed to Mr. Morley's edition will be found engraved plates of all the known coins of the Atábeg dynasty, with elucidations by W. S. Vaux, Esq., so as to present an acceptable offering to the friends of Oriental numismatics, as well as to the philological and historical scholar. This text may also be remarked as the first specimen of Persian prose published by the Society.

The "Tuhfat ul Ahrár," edited by Professor Forbes Falconer, forms the first portion of Jámi's celebrated "Khamsah," of which the Committee had the pleasure of acknowledging Mr. J. B. Elliott's munificent patronage, in their Report of last year.

The Committee has been gratified by offers of assistance from two new contributors, M. Garcin de Tassy and the Rev. George Hunt. The latter has expressed himself willing to edite the "Futúh us Shám" of Wákidi, or to undertake any other work in Arabic History which may be suggested by the Committee; while M. de Tassy proposes a text of the "Mantic ul Tayr," or "Discourse of Birds," of Feríddudín Attár of Nishapúr. This curious mystic poem, already known by Von Hammer's analysis, would afford the advantage of the learned Professor's labours on a subject peculiarly suited to the genius and researches of the editor of Azzuddín's allegory of "Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs."

The adoption of these two last proposals must, however, depend on the encouragement the Committee may receive by increased subscription to their present funds.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

The Accounts of the Society, for the year 1847, have been duly audited by the undersigned; who have to report the correctness of the Books, and that the entries therein are properly vouched and authenticated.

	£.	s.	d.
The *Receipts* * during the year for Annual Subscriptions, Admission Fees, and Compositions, amount to . .	623	14	0
From the Honourable East India Company . .	105	0	0
From Dividends on Consols	56	11	10
And from the sale of the Society's Journal, and other publications	65	10	0
Making a total of	£850	15	10
The Balance in favour of the Society at the end of 1846, was	329	7	5
So that the total of the debit side of the Society's balance sheet for 1847 is	£1180	3	3

The *Disbursements* during the year 1847 were as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
House Rent and Taxes	248	14	5
House Expenses	97	11	0
Salaries and Wages	253	3	0
Printing Expenses	272	1	5
Bookbinding and Stationery, &c.	25	1	7
Giving a total of	£896	11	5
And leaving a Balance in hand, on the 31st Dec., 1847, of	283	11	10
	1180	3	3

JOHN BRIGGS, { *Auditor on the part of the Council.*

W. EWER, JAMES EWING, } *Auditors on the part of the Society.*

London, 3rd *May*, 1848.

* Vide Abstract, page xiii.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE, from 1st of January to 31st of December, 1847.

RECEIPTS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
123 Subscriptions of Resident Members, at 3*l.* 3*s.* each	387	9	0			
48 ditto, Original Members, at 2*l.* 2*s.* each	100	16	0			
6 ditto Non-Resident Members, at 2*l.* 2*s.* each	12	12	0			
Arrears of Subscriptions paid up	12	12	0			
				£513	9	0
15 Admission Fees of New Members, at 5*l.* 5*s.*	78	15	0			
1 Composition of Subscription	31	10	0			
				110	5	0
One Year's Dividend on Consols (less Income Tax)	56	11	10			
Publications sold	65	10	0			
Annual Donation from Hon. East India Company	105	0	0			
				227	1	10
				£850	15	10
Balance brought from 1846				329	7	5
				£1180	3	3

[£1942 17*s.* 1*d.* In 3 per Cent. Consols.]

EXPENDITURE.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
By House Rent, one year, (less Property Tax and Land Tax)	214	6	4			
Rates and Taxes	34	8	1			
				£248	14	5
House Expenses, Housekeeper's Wages, &c.	70	0	0			
Coals, 13*l.*; Carpenter, 2*l.* 1*s.* 9*s.*	15	1	9			
Plumber and Glazier	12	9	3			
				97	11	0
Salaries of Assistant-Secretary, Clerk, and Porter	226	3	0			
Collector's Poundage on Subscriptions	27	0	0			
				253	3	0
Printer's Bill for Journal, No. XVII., Part II. (1847), and Vol. X., Parts II. and III. (1847)	234	3	9			
Sewing Journal, &c.	34	4	2			
Engraver's Bill	3	13	6			
				272	1	5
Bookbinding, Stationery, and Periodicals				25	1	7
				£896	11	5
Balance in hand, 31st December, 1847				283	11	10
				£1180	3	3

taste and care. The time, however, had been very short, and no arrangements had yet been made for the display of the Armoury, the laying out of the Natural History departments, and many other works yet to be effected. He looked forward to an early supply of the many deficiencies in the Society's Library; and suggested that great benefit might accrue to the Institution by making out lists of desiderata, on looking over which Members and friends might be induced to contribute books which are now wanting. He thought, too, that Members might with great advantage deposit the whole or part of their Oriental Libraries in the Society's house without depriving themselves of their free and ready use, while by admitting the access of others to those stores they would render great assistance to the Society and its Members. He suggested that a percentage of the disposable income might be annually set aside for the purchase and binding of books; and hoped that the Council would take this hint into consideration. He agreed with Sir George Staunton that it would be a source of great enjoyment to the Members if they could hear popular Lectures, like those of the Royal Institution, but treating, of course, of Asiatic subjects. In again alluding to the House Committee, he said he must confess, that although a member of it, he had done very little himself; and that the thanks of the Society were due to those who had taken a more active and prominent part in the measures consequent upon the removal, and especially to Mr. Bland, whose unceasing and unwearied exertions deserved the highest praise and thanks.

It was moved by G. W. ANDERSON, ESQ., and seconded by T. T. MARDON, ESQ.,

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Officers of the Society, the Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, for their continued attention to the duties of their several offices."

THE SECRETARY returned thanks for the great kindness shown him, and would most cordially say that all the duties of the Secretary, in respect of the removal, had been performed by Mr. Bland and Mr. Morley, to whom he offered his personal thanks for the great relief they had afforded him. Their great tact and judgment, and their zeal and good taste, would be abundantly manifest in the vast improvements now in progress; and he felt sure that no one could have accomplished the work so well as those gentlemen. He concluded by moving a special vote of thanks to Mr. Bland and Mr. Morley, which General Briggs seconded.

THE DIRECTOR, in putting the Motion, testified to the great exertions of those gentlemen, and to the obligations which they had conferred upon the Society.

The Motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. Shakespeare would only interpose for one moment to return thanks for the favour shown him by the recognition of his humble services as Librarian.

Mr. Bland, in returning thanks on the part of Mr. Morley and himelf, felt equally unprepared for, and undeserving of the honour the Meeting had conferred by their very flattering vote. He congratulated the Society on its removal from so confined a situation as the former house, where its position much resembled that of the unfortunate Prince of the Ebony Isles, who was doomed to sit for years in inactivity, half man and half marble, his mental energies rendered ineffective by the physical disability which paralyzed all his best resolutions. From this spell, under which the Society had laboured for a quarter of a century, they were now released, and by the most powerful of all disenchantment, the energy of their own exertions. Alluding to the munificent grant of the Hon. East India Company, Mr. Bland rejoiced that the measure of removal had been adopted as an independent resolution, and not as conditional on that increase of income; both because it proved that an effort to deserve support was sure to obtain success, and because it pledged the Society to increased activity in all its operations.

General Briggs and J. Ewing, Esq. having been appointed Scrutineers, the Meeting proceeded to ballot for the Officers of the Society for the ensuing year, and for the eight new Members of the Council, in lieu of those who retire in accordance with the provisions of the XXXth Article of the Society's Regulations.

At the close of the ballot it was announced that the Officers of the Society were unanimously re-elected, and that G. W. Anderson, Esq., H. Borrodaile, Esq., Maj.-Gen. J. Caulfeild, C.B., Sir Thos. Edwd. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., Walter Ewer, Esq., James Ewing, Esq., R. H. Holland, Esq., William Platt, Esq., were unanimously elected into the Council, in place of the following, who retire,—S. Ball, Esq., N. Bland, Esq., Maj.-Gen. J. Briggs, Maj.-Gen. Galloway, C.B., J. M. Macleod, Esq., Maj.-Gen. Sir W. Morison, K.C.B., Lt.-Col. W. H. Sykes, Major Sir Henry Willock, K.L.S.

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